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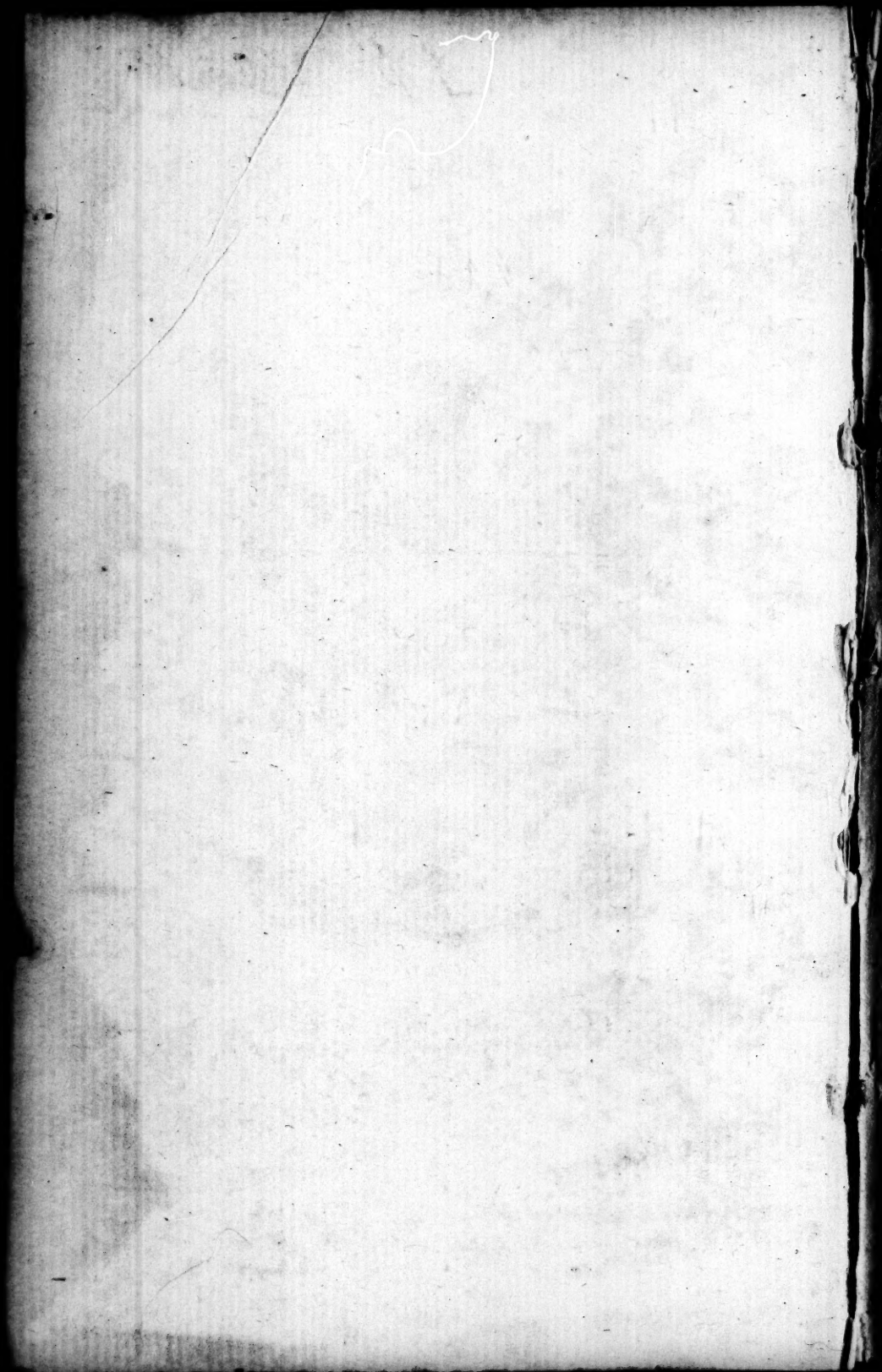
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Francis Hastings Toone.

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Elizabeth Gray

SKETCHES

OF THE

HISTORY OF MAN.

VOLUME I.

SKETCHES

OF THE

MAN



HIST.

VOLUME I

SKETCHES

Eliza: OF THE *Gray*

HISTORY OF MAN.

IN FOUR VOLUMES.

By ^HHENRY HOME, Lord KAIMS,

Author of *Elements of Criticism*, &c.

VOLUME I.

DUBLIN:

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M,DCC,LXXV.

300 N T C 1112

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OF THE
R. O. D. M.

1112 N T C 1112

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2. N. T. C. 1112
3. Population
4. Progress of work with regard to progress
5. Origin and progress of work
6. History of the work



7. Progress of the work
8. Appendix
9. Concluding remarks
10. Index

W. O. L. I.
1. Progress of the work
2. Progress of the work

Printed at JAMES WILKINS
Printed at JAMES WILKINS
1. Progress of the work
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P R E F A C E.

THE following work is the substance of various speculations, that occasionally amused the author, and enlivened his leisure-hours. It is not intended for the learned; they are above it: nor for the vulgar; they are below it. It is intended for men, who, equally removed from the corruption of opulence, and from the depression of bodily labour, are bent on useful knowledge; who, even in the delirium of youth, feel the dawn of patriotism, and who, in riper years, enjoy its meridian warmth. To such men this work is dedicated; and that they may profit by it, is the author's ardent wish, and probably will be while any spirit remains in him to form a wish.

May not he hope, that this work, child of his grey hairs, will survive, and bear testimony for him to good men, that even a laborious calling, which left him not many leisure-hours, never banished from his mind, that he would little deserve to be of the human species, were he indifferent about his fellow-creatures:

Homo sum: humani nihil a me alienum puto.

Most

Most of the subjects handled in the following sheets admit but of probable reasoning; which is not a little slippery, as, with respect to many reasonings of that kind, it is difficult to pronounce, what degree of conviction they ought to produce. It is easy to form plausible arguments; but to form such as will stand the test of time, is not always easy. I could amuse the reader with numerous examples of conjectural arguments, which, fair at a distant view, vanish like a cloud on a near approach. In the first sketch of this book, not to go farther, he will find recorded more than one example. The dread of being misled by such arguments filled the author with anxiety; and, after his utmost attention, he can but faintly hope, that he has not often wandered far from truth.

Above thirty years ago he began to collect materials for a natural history of man; and, in the vigour of youth, did not think the undertaking too bold, even for a single hand. He has discovered of late, that his utmost abilities are scarce sufficient for executing a few imperfect sketches.

Edinburgh, Feb. 23. 1774.

Most of the subjects handled in the following sheets admit but of probable reasoning; which is not a little to be regretted, as to many reasonings of that kind, it is difficult to propose a more direct mode of conviction. It is very to be lamented that such as

To the READER.

As one great object of the Editor is to make this a popular work, he has, chiefly with a view to the female sex, subjoined an English translation of all the quotations from other languages.

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SKETCHES
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HISTORY OF MAN.

BOOK I.

Progress of MEN as INDIVIDUALS.

SKETCH I.

DIVERSITY of MEN and of LANGUAGES.

WHETHER there be different races of men, or whether all men be of one race, without any difference but what proceeds from climate or other accident, is a profound question of natural history, which remains still undetermined after all that has been said upon it. As the question is of moment in tracing the history of man, I purpose to contribute my mite; and in order to admit all the light possible, a view of brute animals as divided into different races or kinds, will make a proper introduction.

As many Animals contribute to our well-being, by labouring for us, or by affording us food and raiment, and as many are noxious; our terrestrial ha-

bitation would be little comfortable, had we no means but experience for distinguishing the one sort from the other. Were each individual animal a species by itself, (indulging the expression), differing from every other individual, a man would finish his days without acquiring so much knowledge of animals as is necessary even for self-preservation: experience would give him no aid with respect to any individual of which he has no experience. The Deity has left none of his works imperfect. Animals are formed of different kinds, each kind having a figure and a temper peculiar to itself. Great uniformity is discovered among animals of the same kind; no less variety among animals of different kinds: and to prevent confusion, kinds are distinguished externally by figure, air, manner, so clearly as not to escape even a child*. To complete this curious system, we have an innate sense, that each kind is endued with properties peculiar to itself; and that these properties belong to every individual of the kind (a). Our road to the knowledge of animals is thus wonderfully abridged: the experience we have of the disposition and properties of any animal, is applied without hesitation to every one of the kind. By that sense, a child, familiar with one dog, is fond of others that resemble it: an European, upon the first sight of a cow in Africa, strokes it as gentle and innocent; and an African avoids a tiger in Hindostan as at home.

* "And out of the ground the Lord God formed every beast of the field and every fowl of the air, and brought them unto Adam to see what he would call them. And Adam gave names to all cattle, and to the fowl of the air, and to every beast of the field." Gen. ii. 19.

(a) See Elements of Criticism, edit. 4. vol. 2. p. 490.

If

If the foregoing theory be well founded, neither experience nor argument is required to prove, that a horse is not an ass, or that a monkey is not a man (*b*). Some animals indeed are so similar, as to render it uncertain whether they be not radically of the same species. But in every such instance there is little need to be solicitous; for I venture to affirm, that both will be found gentle or fierce, wholesome food or unwholesome. Such questions may be curious, but they are of no use.

The division of brute animals into different kinds, is not more useful to man than to the animals themselves. A beast of prey would be ill fitted for its station, if nature did not teach it what creatures to attack, and what to avoid. A rabbit is the prey of the ferret. Present a rabbit, even dead, to a young ferret that never had seen a rabbit; it throws itself upon the body, and bites it with fury. A hound has the same instinct with respect to a hare, and most dogs have it. Unless directed by nature, innocent animals would not know their enemy till they were in its clutches. A hare flies with precipitation from the first dog it ever saw; and a chicken, upon the first sight of a kite, cowers under its dam. Social animals, without scruple, connect with their own kind, and as readily avoid others*. Birds are not afraid of quadrupeds; not even of a cat, till they are taught by experience that a cat is their enemy. They appear to be as little afraid

* The populace about Smyrna have a cruel amusement. They lay the eggs of a hen in a stork's nest. Upon seeing the chickens, the male in amazement calls his neighbouring storks together; who, to revenge the affront put upon them, destroy the poor innocent female; while he bewails his misfortune in heavy lamentation.

(*b*) See M. Buffon's natural history.

of a man naturally ; and upon that account are far from being shy when left unmolested. In the uninhabited island of Visia Grandé, one of the Philippines, Kempfer says, that birds may be taken with the hand. Hawks, in some of the South-sea islands, are equally tame. At Port Egmont in the Falkland Islands, geese, far from being shy, may be knocked down with a stick. The birds that inhabit certain rocks hanging over the sea in the island of Annabon, take food readily out of a man's hand. In Arabia Felix, foxes and apes show no fear of man ; the inhabitants of hot countries having no notion of hunting. In the uninhabited island Bering, adjacent to Kamiskatka, the foxes are so little shy that they scarce go out of a man's way. Doth not this observation suggest a final cause ? A partridge, a plover, a pheasant, would be lost to man for food, were they naturally as much afraid of him as of a hawk or a kite.

The division of animals into different kinds, serves another purpose, not less important than those mentioned ; which is, to fit them for different climates. We learn from experience, that no animal nor vegetable is fitted for every climate ; and from experience we also learn, that there is no animal or vegetable but what is fitted for some climate, where it grows to perfection. Even in the torrid zone, plants of a cold country are found upon mountains where plants of a hot country will not grow ; and the height of a mountain may be determined with tolerable precision from the plants it produces. Wheat is not an indigenous plant in Britain ; no farmer is ignorant that foreign seed is requisite to preserve the plant in vigour. To prevent flax from degenerating in Scotland and Ireland, great quantities of foreign seed are annually imported. A camel is peculiarly fitted for the burning sands of Arabia ; and Lapland would be uninhabitable

habitable but for rain-deer, an animal so entirely fitted for piercing cold, that it cannot subsist even in a temperate climate. Arabian and Barbary horses degenerate in Britain; and to preserve the breed in some degree of perfection, frequent supplies from their original climate are requisite. Spanish horses degenerate in Mexico, but improve in Chili; having more vigour and swiftness there than even the Andalusian race, whose offspring they are. Our dunghill-fowl, imported originally from a warm country in Asia, are not hardened, even after many centuries, to bear the cold of this country like birds originally native: the hen lays few or no eggs in winter, unless in a house warmed with fire. The deserts of Zaara and Biledulgerid in Africa, may be properly termed the native country of lions: there they grow to nine feet long and five feet high. Lions in the south of Africa toward the Cape of Good Hope, grow but to five feet and a half long and to three and a half high. A breed of lions transplanted from the latter to the former, would rise to the full size; and sink to the smaller size, if transplanted from the former to the latter.

To preserve the different species of animals entire, as far as necessary, Providence is careful to prevent a mixed breed. Few animals of different species copulate together. Some may be brought to copulate, but without effect; and some produce a mongrel, a mule for example, which seldom procreates, if at all. In some few instances, where a mixture of species is harmless, procreation goes on without limitation. All the different species of the dog kind copulate together, and the mongrels produced generate others without end. But dogs are by their nature companions to men; and Providence probably has permitted a mixture, in order that every man may have a dog to his liking.

M. Buffon in his natural history borrows from Ray (c) a very artificial rule for ascertaining the different species of animals: "Any two animals that can procreate together, and whose issue can also procreate, are of the same species (d)." A horse and an ass can procreate together; but they are not, says he, of the same species, because their issue, a mule, cannot procreate. He applies that rule to the human race; holding all men to be of one race or species, because a man and a woman, however different in size, in shape, in complexion, can procreate together without end. And by the same rule he holds all dogs to be of one species. With respect to other animals, the rule should pass without opposition from me; but as it also respects man, the subject of the present enquiry, I propose to examine it with attention. Providence, it is true, hath prevented confusion; for in most instances it hath withheld from animals of different species a power of procreating together; but as our author has not attempted to prove that such restraint is universal without a single exception, his rule is evidently, a *petitio principii*. Why may not two animals different in species produce a mixed breed? Buffon must say, that by a law of nature animals of different species never produce a mixed breed. But has he proved this to be a law of nature? On the contrary, he more than once mentions several exceptions. He admits the sheep and the goat to be of a different species; and yet we have his authority for affirming, that a he-goat and a ewe produce a mixed breed which generate for ever (e). The camel and the dromedary, tho'

(c) Wisdom of God in the works of creation.

(d) Octavo edit. vol. 8. p. 104. and in many other parts.

(e) Vol. 10. p. 138.

nearly related, are however no less distinct than the horse and the ass. The dromedary is less than the camel, more slender, and remarkably more swift of foot: it has but one bunch on its back, the camel has two; the race is more numerous than that of the camel, and more widely spread. One would not desire distinguishing marks more satisfying; and yet these two species propagate together no less freely than the different races of men and of dogs. Buffon indeed, with respect to the camel and dromedary, endeavours to save his credit, by a distinction without a difference. "They are," says he, "one species; but their races are different, and have been so past all memory (f)." Does this say more than that the camel and the dromedary are different species of the same genus? which also holds true of the different species of men and of dogs. If our author will permit me to carry back to the creation the camel and the dromedary as two distinct races, I desire no other concession. He admits no fewer than ten kinds of goats, visibly distinguishable, which also propagate together; but says that these are varieties only, tho' permanent and unchangeable. No difficulty is unfurmountable if words be allowed to pass without meaning. Nor does he even preserve any consistency in his opinions: tho' in distinguishing a horse from an ass, he affirms the mule they generate to be barren, yet afterward, entirely forgetting his rule, he admits the direct contrary (g). At that rate a horse and an ass are of the same species. Did it never once enter into the mind of this author, that the human race would be strangely imperfect, if they were unable to distinguish a man

(f) Vol. 10. p. 1.

(g) Vol. 12. p. 223.

from a monkey, or a hare from a hedge-hog, till it were known whether they can procreate together?

But it seems unnecessary after all to urge any argument against the foregoing rule, which M. Buffon himself inadvertently abandons as to all animals, men and dogs excepted. We are indebted to him for a remark, That not a single animal of the torrid zone is common to the old world and to the new. But how does he verify his remark? Does he ever think of trying whether such animals can procreate together? "They are," says he, "of different kinds, having no such resemblance as to make us pronounce them to be of the same kind. Linnæus and Brisson," he adds, "have very improperly given the name of the camel to the lama and the pacos of Peru. So apparent is the difference, that other writers class these animals with sheep. Wool however is the only circumstance in which a pacos resembles a sheep: nor doth the lama resemble a camel except in length of neck." He distinguisheth in the same manner, the true Asiatic tiger from several American animals that bear the same name. He mentions its size, its force, its ferocity, the colour of its hair, the strips black and white that like rings surround alternately its trunk, and are continued to the end of its tail; "characters," says he, "that clearly distinguish the true tiger from all animals of prey in the new world; the largest of which scarce equals one of our mastives." And he reasons in the same manner upon the other animals of the torrid zone (*b*). Here then we have M. Buffon's authority against himself, that there are different races of men; for he cannot deny that

(*b*) See vol. 8. sec. Of animals common to the two continents.

certain tribes differ apparently from each other, not less than the lama and pacos from the camel or from the sheep, nor less than the true tiger from the American animals of that name. Which of his rules are we to follow? Must we apply different rules to different animals? and to what animals are we to apply the different rules? For proving that dogs were created of different kinds, what better evidence can be expected than that the kinds continue distinct to this day? Our author pretends to derive the mastiff, the bull-dog, the hound, the greyhound, the terrier, the water-dog, &c. all of them from the prickt-ear shepherd's cur. Now, admitting the progeny of the original male and female cur to have suffered every possible alteration from climate, food, domestication; the result would be endless varieties, so as that no one individual should resemble another. Whence then are derived the different species of dogs above mentioned, or the different races or varieties, as M. Buffon is pleased to name them? Uniformity and permanency must be a law in their nature, for they never can be the production of chance. There are mongrels, it is true, among dogs, from want of choice, or from a depraved appetite: but as all animals prefer their own kind, mongrels are few compared with animals of a true breed. There are mongrels also among men: the several kinds however continue distinct; and probably will so continue for ever.

The celebrated Linnæus, instead of describing every animal according to its kind as Adam our first parent did, and Buffon copying from him, has wandered wonderfully far from nature in classing animals. He distributes them into six classes, viz. Mammalia, Aves, Amphibia, Pisces, Insecta, Vermes. The Mammalia are distributed into seven orders, chiefly from their teeth, viz. Pri-

mates, Bruta, Feræ, Glires, Pecora, Belluæ, Cete. And the Primates are Homo, Simia, Lemur, Vespertilio. What may have been his purpose in classing animals so, I cannot guess, if it be not to enable us, from the nipples and teeth of any particular animal, to know where it lies in his book. It resembles the classing books in a library by size, or by binding, without regard to the contents. It may serve as a sort of dictionary; but to no other purpose so far as I can discover. How whimsical is it to class together animals that nature hath widely separated, a man for example and a bat? What will a plain man think of a method of classing that denies a whale to be a fish? Beside, one would wish to know why in classing animals he confines himself to the nipples and the teeth, when there are many other distinguishing marks. Animals are not less distinguishable by their tails; long tails, short tails, no tails: nor less distinguishable by their hands, some having four hands, some two, some none, &c. &c. At the same time, if any solid instruction is to be acquired from such classing, I shall listen, not only with attention, but with satisfaction.

And now more particularly of man, after discussing other animals. If the only rule afforded by nature for classing animals can be depended on, there are different races of men as well as of dogs: a mastiff differs not more from a spaniel, than a white man from a negro, or a Laplander from a Dane. And if we have any faith in Providence, it ought to be so. Plants were created of different kinds to fit them for different climates, and so were brute animals. Certain it is, that all men are not fitted equally for every climate. There is scarce a climate but what is natural to some men, where they prosper and flourish; and there is not a climate but where some men degenerate. Doth not
then

then analogy lead us to conclude, that as there are different climates on the face of this globe, so there are different races of men fitted for these different climates? The inhabitants of the frozen regions of the north, men, birds, beasts, fish, are all of them provided with a quantity of fat which guards them against cold. Even the trees are full of rosin. The Esquimaux inhabit a bitter cold country; and their blood and their breath are remarkably warm. The island St. Thomas, under the line, is extremely foggy; and the natives are fitted for that sort of weather, by the rigidity of their fibres. The fog is dispelled in July and August by dry winds; which give vigour to Europeans, whose fibres are relaxed by the moisture of the atmosphere, as by a warm bath. The natives, on the contrary, who are not fitted for a dry air, have more diseases in July and August than during the other ten months. On the other hand, instances are without number of men degenerating in a climate to which they are not fitted by nature; and I know not of a single instance where in such a climate people have retained their original vigour. Several European colonies have subsisted in the torrid zone of America more than two centuries; and yet even that length of time has not familiarised them to the climate: they cannot bear heat like the original inhabitants, nor like negroes transplanted from a country equally hot: they are far from equalling in vigour of mind or body the nations from which they sprung. The Spanish inhabitants of Carthagena in South America lose their vigour and colour in a few months. Their motion is languid; and their words are pronounced with a low voice, and with long and frequent intervals. Europeans who are born in Batavia soon degenerate. Scarce one of them has talents sufficient to bear a part in the administration. There is not an office

office of trust or figure but what is filled with native Europeans. Some Portuguese, who have been for ages settled on the sea-coast of Congo, retain scarce the appearance of men. South Carolina, especially about Charlestown, is extremely hot, having no sea-breeze to cool the air. Europeans there die so fast that they have not time to degenerate. Even in Jamaica, tho' more temperate by a regular succession of land and sea-breezes, recruits from Britain are necessary to keep up the numbers. The climate of the northern provinces resembles our own, and population goes on with great rapidity.

Thus it appears that there are different races of men fitted by nature for different climates. Upon a thorough examination another fact will perhaps also appear, that the natural productions of each climate make the most wholesome food for the people who are fitted to live in it. Between the tropics, the natives live chiefly on fruits, seeds, and roots; and it is the opinion of the most knowing naturalists, that such food is of all the most wholesome for the torrid zone, comprehending the hot plants, which grow there to perfection, and tend greatly to fortify the stomach. In a temperate climate, a mixture of animal and vegetable food is held to be the most wholesome; and there both animals and vegetables abound. In a cold climate, animals are in plenty, but scarce any vegetables that can serve for food to man. What physicians pronounce upon that head, I know not; but if we dare venture a conjecture from analogy, animal food will be found the most wholesome for such as are made by nature to live in a cold climate.

M. Buffon, from the rule, That animals which can procreate together, and whose progeny can also procreate, are of one species, concludes, that
all

all men are of one race or species ; and endeavours to support that favourite opinion by ascribing to the climate, to food, or to other accidental causes, all the varieties that are found among men. But is he seriously of opinion, that any operation of climate, or of other accidental cause, can account for the copper colour and smooth chin universal among the Americans, the prominence of the Pudenda universal among Hottentot women, or the black nipple no less universal among female Samoides ? The thick fogs of the island St. Thomas may relax the fibres of the natives, but cannot make them more rigid than they are naturally. Whence then the difference with respect to rigidity of fibres between them and Europeans, but from original nature ? It is in vain to ascribe to the climate the low stature of the Esquimaux, the smallness of their feet, or the overgrown size of their head. It is equally in vain to ascribe to climate the low stature of the Laplanders *, or their ugly visage. Lapland is indeed piercingly cold ; but so is Finland, and the northern parts of Norway, the inhabitants of which are tall, comely, and well proportioned. The black colour of negroes, thick lips, flat nose, crisped woolly hair, and rank smell, distinguish them from every other race of men. The Abyssinians on the contrary are tall and well made, their complexion a brown olive, features well proportioned, eyes large and of a sparkling black, thin lips, a nose rather high than flat. There is no such difference of climate between

* By late accounts it appears that the Laplanders are only degenerated Tartars ; and that they and the Hungarians originally sprung from the same breed of men, and from the same country. Pere Hel, the Jesuit, an Hungarian, made lately this discovery, when sent to Lapland for making some astronomical observations.

Abyssinia and Negroland as to produce these striking differences. At any rate, there must be a considerable mixture both of soil and climate in these extensive regions; and yet not the least mixture is perceived in the people.

If the climate have any commanding influence, it must be chiefly displayed upon the complexion; and in that article accordingly our author exults. "Man," says he, "white in Europe, black in Africa, yellow in Asia, and red in America, is still the same animal, tinged only with the colour of the climate. Where the heat is excessive, as in Guinea and Senegal, the people are perfectly black; where less excessive, as in Abyssinia, the people are less black; where it is more temperate, as in Barbary and in Arabia, they are brown; and where mild, as in Europe and Lesser Asia, they are fair (i)." But here he triumphs without a victory: he is forced to acknowledge, that the Samoides, Laplanders, and Greenlanders, are of a fallow complexion; for which he has the following salvo, that the extremities of heat and of cold produce nearly the same effects on the skin. But he is totally silent upon a fact that singly overturns his whole system of colour, viz. that all Americans without exception are of a copper colour, tho' in that vast continent there is every variety of climate. Neither doth the black colour of some Africans, nor the brown colour of others, correspond to the climate. The people of the desert of Zaara, commonly termed Lower Ethiopia, tho' exposed to the vertical rays of the sun in a burning sand yielding not even to Guinea in heat, are of a tawny colour, far from being jet black like negroes. The natives of Monomotapa are perfectly black, with crisped

woolly hair, tho' the southern parts of that extensive kingdom are in a temperate climate, very different from that of Guinéa. And the Caffres, even those who live near the Cape of Good Hope, are the same sort of people. The heat of Abyssinia approacheth nearer to that of Guinea; and yet, as mentioned above, the inhabitants are not black. Nor shall our author's ingenious observation concerning the extremities of heat and cold purchase him impunity with respect to the fallow complexion of the Samoides, Laplanders, and Greenlanders. The Finlanders and northern Norwegians live in a climate not less cold than that of the people mentioned; and yet are fair beyond other Europeans. I say more, there are many instances of races of people preserving their original colour in climates very different from their own; but not a single instance of the contrary so far as I can learn. There have been four complete generations of negroes in Pensylvania, without any visible change of colour: they continue jet black as originally. Shaw, in his travels through Barbary, mentions a people inhabiting the mountains of Aures bordering upon Algiers on the south, who appeared to be of a different race from the Moors. Their complexion, far from swarthy, is fair and ruddy; and their hair a deep yellow, instead of being dark as among the neighbouring Moors. He conjectures them to be a remnant of the Vandals, perhaps the tribe mentioned by Procopius in his first book of the Vandalic war. If the European complexion be proof against a hot climate for a thousand years, I pronounce that it will never yield to climate. In the suburbs of Cochin, a town in Malabar, there is a colony of industrious Jews of the the same complexion they have in Europe. They pretend that they were established there during the captivity of Babylon:

it is unquestionable that they have been many ages in that country. Those who ascribe all to the sun, ought to consider how little probable it is, that the colour it impresses on the parents should be communicated to their infant children, who never saw the sun: I should be as soon induced to believe with a German naturalist, whose name has escaped me, that the negro colour is owing to an ancient custom in Africa of dying the skin black. Let a European for years expose himself to the sun in a hot climate, till he be quite brown, his children will nevertheless have the same complexion with those in Europe. The Hortentots are continually at work, and have been for ages, to darken their complexion; but that operation has no effect on their children. From the action of the sun is it possible to explain, why a negro, like a European, is born with a ruddy skin, which turns jet black the eighth or ninth day?

Different tribes are distinguishable, not less by internal disposition than by external figure. Nations are for the most part so blended by war, by commerce, or by other means, that vain would be the attempt to trace out an original character in any cultivated nation. But there are savage tribes, which, so far as can be discovered, continue to this day pure without mixture, who act by instinct not art, who have not learned to disguise their passions: to such I confine the inquiry. There is no propensity in human nature more general than aversion to strangers, as will be made evident in a following sketch (*k*). And yet some nations must be excepted, not indeed many in number, who are remarkably kind to strangers; by which circumstance they appear to be of a peculiar race. In order to set the exceptions in a clear light, a few

(*k*) Book 2. sketch 1.

instances shall be premised of the general propensity. The nations that may be the most relied on for an original character, are islanders at a distance from the continent and from each other. Among such, great variety of character is found. Some islands adjacent to New Guinea, are inhabited by negroes, a bold, mischievous, untractable race; always ready to attack strangers when they approach the shore. The people of New Zealand are of a large size and of a hoarse voice. They appeared shy according to Tasman's account. Some of them however ventured on board in order to trade; but finding opportunity, they surprised seven of his men in a shallop, and without the slightest provocation killed three of them, the rest having escaped by swimming. The island called Recreation, 16th degree southern latitude and 148th of longitude west from London, was discovered in Roggewein's voyage. Upon sight of the ships, the natives flocked to the shore with long pikes. The crew made good their landing, having beat back the natives by a continued fire of muskets; who, returning after a short interval, accepted presents of beads, small looking-glasses, and other trinkets, without shewing the least fear: they even assisted the crew in gathering herbs for those who were afflicted with the scurvy. Some of the crew traversing the island in great security, and trusting to some of the natives who led the way, were carried into a deep valley surrounded with rocks; where they were instantly attacked on every side with large stones; and with difficulty made their escape, but not without leaving several dead upon the field. In Commodore Byron's voyage to the South sea, an island was discovered named Disappointment. The shore was filled with natives in arms to prevent landing. They were black, and without cloathing, except what covered the

the parts that nature teaches to hide. But a specimen is sufficient here, as the subject will be fully illustrated in the sketch referred to above.

The kindness of some tribes to strangers deserves more attention, being not a little singular. Gonneville, commander of a French ship in a voyage to the East Indies in the year 1503, was probably the first European who visited the Terra Australis Incognita; being driven thither by a tempest. He continued six months in that country, while his vessel was refitting; and the manners he describes were in all appearance original. The natives had not made a greater progress in the arts of life than the savage Canadians have done; ill clothed; and worse lodged, having no light in their cabins but what came in through a hole in the roof. They were divided into small tribes, governed each by a king; who, tho' neither better clothed nor lodged than others, had power of life and death over his subjects. They were a simple and peaceable people; and in a manner worshipped the French, providing them with necessaries, and in return thankfully receiving knives, hatchets, small looking-glasses, and other such baubles. In a part of California the men go naked; and are fond of feathers and shells. They are governed by a king, with great mildness; and of all savages are the most humane, even to strangers. An island discovered in the South sea by Tasman, 21st degree of southern latitude and 177th of longitude west from London, was called by him Amsterdam. The natives, who had no arms offensive nor defensive, treated the Dutch with great civility, except in being given to pilfering. At no great distance another island was discovered, named Annamocha by the natives, and Rotterdam by Tasman; possessed by a people resembling those last mentioned, particularly in having no arms.

The

The Dutch, sailing round the island, saw abundance of cocoa-trees planted in rows, with many other fruit-bearing trees, kept in excellent order. Commodore Roggewein, commander of a Dutch fleet, discovered, an. 1721, a new island in the South sea; inhabited by a people lively, active, and swift of foot; of a sweet and modest deportment: but timorous and faint-hearted; for having on their knees presented some refreshments to the Dutch, they retired with precipitation. Numbers of idols cut in stone were set up along the coast, in the figure of men with large ears, and the head covered with a crown; the whole nicely proportioned and highly finished. They fled for refuge to these idols: and they could do no better; for they had no weapons either offensive or defensive. Neither was there any appearance of government or subordination; for they all spoke and acted with equal freedom. This island, situated 28 degrees 30 minutes southern latitude, and about 115 degrees of longitude west from London, is by the Dutch called Easter or Pasch Island*. The Commodore directing his course north-west, discovered in the southern latitude of 12 degrees, and in the longitude of 190, a cluster of other islands, planted with variety of fruit-trees, and bearing herbs, corn, and roots, in plenty. When the ships approached the shore, the inhabitants came in their canoes with fish, cocoa-nuts, Indian figs, and other refreshments; for which they received small looking-glasses, strings of beads, and other toys. These islands were well peopled: many thousands thronged to the shore to see the ships, the men being armed with bows and arrows, and appearing

* The women were very loving, enticing the Dutchmen by every female art to the most intimate familiarity.

to be governed by a chieftain: they were of the same complexion with that of Europe, only a little more sun-burnt. They were brisk and lively, treating one another with civility; and in their behaviour expressing nothing wild nor savage. Their bodies were not painted; but handsomely clothed, from the middle downward, with silk fringes in neat folds. Large hats screened their faces from the sun, and collars of odoriferous flowers surrounded their necks. The face of the country is charming, being finely diversified with hills and vallies. Some of the islands are ten miles in circumference, some fifteen, and some twenty. The historian adds, that these islanders are in all respects the most civilized and the best tempered people they discovered in the South sea. Far from being afraid, they treated the Dutch with great kindness; and expressed much regret at their departure. These islands got the name of Bowman's islands, from the captain of the Tienhoven, who discovered them. In Commodore Byron's voyage to the South sea, while they were passing through the streights of Magellan, some natives approached in their canoes; and upon invitation came on board, without fear, or even shyness. They at the same time appeared grossly stupid; and particularly could not comprehend the use of knives, offered to them in a present. In another part of the streights, the natives were highly delighted with the presents made them. M. Bougainville, in his voyage round the world, describes a people in the streights of Magellan, probably those last mentioned, as of a small stature, tame and peaceable, having scarce any cloathing in a climate bitterly cold. Commodore Byron discovered another island in the South sea covered with trees, which was named Byron island. The inhabitants were neither savage nor shy, trafficking freely with the crew,

crew, though they seemed addicted to thieving. One of them ventured into the ship. After leaving Otaheite, Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander, sailing westward, discovered a cluster of islands, termed by them Society islands: the natives were extremely civil, and appeared to have no aversion to strangers. The island of Oahena, north-west from that of Otaheite, is a delightful spot; the soil fertile, and the shores adorned with fruit-trees of various kinds. The inhabitants are well proportioned, with regular engaging features; the women uncommonly beautiful and delicate. The inhabitants behaved with great hospitality and probity to the people of the ship in which these gentlemen made a late voyage round the world.

To find the inhabitants of these remote islands differing so widely from the rest of the world as to have no aversion to strangers, but on the contrary showing great kindness to the first they probably ever saw, is a singular phenomenon. It is in vain here to talk of climate; because in all climates we find an aversion to strangers. From the instances given above, let us select two islands, or two clusters of islands, suppose for example Bowman's islands inhabited by Whites, and those adjacent to New Guinea inhabited by Blacks. Kindness to strangers is the national character of the former, and hatred to strangers is the national character of the latter. Virtues and vices as entering into the character of individuals, depend on causes so various, and so variable, as to give an impression of chance more than of design. We are not always certain of uniformity in the conduct even of the same person; far less that sons will inherit their father's virtues or vices. In most countries, a savage who has no aversion to strangers, nor to neighbouring clans, would be noted as singular: to find the same quality in every one of his children,

dren, would be surprising : and would be still more so, were it diffused widely through a multitude of his descendents. Yet a family is as nothing compared with a whole nation ; and when we find kindness to strangers a national character in certain tribes, we reject with disdain the notion of chance, and perceive intuitively that effects so regular and permanent must be owing to a constant and invariable cause. Such effects cannot be accidental, more than the uniformity of male and female births in all countries and at all times. They cannot be accounted for from education or example, which indeed may contribute to spread a certain fashion or certain manners, but cannot be their fundamental cause. Where the greater part of a nation is of one character, education and example may extend it over the whole ; but the character of that greater part can have no foundation but nature. What resource then have we for explaining the opposite manners of the islanders above mentioned, but that they are of different races ?

The same doctrine is strongly confirmed upon finding courage or cowardice to be a national character. Individuals differ widely as to these ; but a national character of courage or cowardice must depend on a permanent and invariable cause. I therefore proceed to instances of national courage and cowardice, that the reader may judge for himself, whether he can discover any other cause for such steady uniformity but diversity of race.

The northern nations of Europe and Asia have at all times been remarkable for courage. Lucan endeavours to account for the courage of the Scandinavians from a firm belief, universal among them, that they should be happy in another world,

Vobis auctoribus, umbræ,
 Non tacitas Erebi sedes, Ditisque profundi
 Pallida regna petunt; regit idem spiritus artus
 Orbe aliq: longæ (canitis si cognita) vitæ
 Mors media est. Certe populi, quos despicit
 Auctos,
 Felices errore suo; quos ille, timorum
 Maximus, haud urget levi metus. Inde ruendi
 In ferrum mens prona viris animæque capaces
 Mortis * (l).

Pretty well for a poet! but among all nations the soul is believed to be immortal, tho' all nations have not the courage of the Scandinavians. The Caledonians were eminent for that virtue; and yet had no such opinion of happiness after death as to make them fond of dying. Souls after death were believed to have but a gloomy sort of existence, like what is described by Homer (m). Their cou-

- * " If dying mortals dooms they sing aright,
 " No ghosts descend to dwell in endless night;
 " No parting souls to grisly Pluto go,
 " Nor seek the dreary silent shades below;
 " But forth they fly, immortal in their kind,
 " And other bodies in new worlds they find,
 " Thus life for ever runs its endless race,
 " And, like a line, Death but divides the space;
 " A stop which can but for a moment last,
 " A point between the future and the past.
 " Thrice happy they beneath the northern skies,
 " Who that worst fear, the fear of death, despise;
 " Hence they no cares for this frail being feel,
 " But rush undaunted on the pointed steel;
 " Provoke approaching fate, and bravely scorn
 " To spare that life which must so soon return."

Rowe.

(l) Lib. 1.

(m) Odyssæy, b. 11.

rage

rage therefore was a gift of nature, not of faith. The people of Malacca and of the neighbouring islands, who are all of the same race and speak the same language, are fierce, turbulent, and bold above any of the human species, tho' they inhabit the torrid zone, held commonly to be the land of cowardice. They never observe a treaty of peace when they have any temptation to break it; and are perpetually at war with their neighbours, or with one another. Instances there are, more than one, of twenty-five or thirty of them in a boat venturing, with no other weapons but poinards, to attack a European ship of war. These men inhabit a most fruitful country, which should naturally render them indolent and effeminate; a country abounding with variety of exquisite fruits and odoriferous flowers in endless succession; sufficient to sink any other people into voluptuousness. They are a remarkable exception from the observation of Herodotus, "That it is not given by the gods to any country, to produce rich crops and warlike men." This instance, with what are to follow, show past contradiction, that a hot climate is no enemy to courage. The inhabitants of New Zealand are of all men the most intrepid, and the least apt to be alarmed at danger. The Giagas are a fierce and bold people in the midst of the torrid zone of Africa: and so are the Ansieki, bordering on Loango. The wild Arabs, who live mostly within the torrid zone, are bold and resolute, holding war to be intended for them by Providence. The African negroes, tho' living in the hottest known country, are yet stout and vigorous, and the most healthy people in the universe. I need scarce mention again the negroes adjacent to New Guinea, who have an uncommon degree of boldness and ferocity. But I mention with pleasure the island Otaheite, discovered
in

in the South sea by Wallis, because the inhabitants are not exceeded by any other people in firmness of mind. The inhabitants are numerous; and tho' the Dolphin was probably the first ship they had ever seen, yet they resolutely marched to the shore, and attacked her with a shower of stones. Some volleys of small shot made them give way: but returning with redoubled ardour, they did not totally lose heart, till the great guns thundered in their ears. Nor even then did they run away in terror; but advising together, they assumed looks of peace, and signified a willingness to forbear hostilities. Peace being settled, they were singularly kind to our people, supplying their wants, and mixing with them in friendly intercourse*. When Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander were on the coast of New Holland, the natives seeing some of our men fishing near the shore, singled out a number of their own equal to those in the boat, who marching down to the water-edge, challenged the strangers to fight them; an instance of the most heroic courage. The people in that part of New Holland must be a very different race from those whom Dampier saw.

A noted author (*n*) holds all savages to be bold, impetuous, and proud; assigning for a cause, their equality and independence. As in that observation he seems to lay no weight on climate, and as little on original disposition, it is with regret that my subject leads me in this public manner to differ from him with respect to the latter. The character he gives in general to all savages, is indeed applicable to many savage tribes, our European fore-

* It is remarkable that these people roast their meat with hot stones, as the Caledonians did in the days of Ossian.

(*n*) Mr. Ferguson.

fathers in particular ; but not to all. It but faintly suits even the North-American savages, whom our author seems to have had in his eye ; for in war they carefully avoid open force, relying chiefly on stratagem and surprise. They value themselves, it is said, upon saving men ; but as that motive was no less weighty in Europe, and indeed every where, the proneness of our forefathers to open violence vouches for their superiority in active courage. The following incidents, reported by Charlevoix, give no favourable idea of some North-Americans with regard to that sort of courage. The fort de Vercheres in Canada, belonging to the French, was in the year 1690 attacked by some Iroquois. They approached silently, preparing to scale the palisade, when some musket-shot made them retire. Advancing a second time, they were again repulsed, wondering that they could discover none but a woman, who was seen every where. This was Madame de Vercheres, who appeared as resolute as if supported by a numerous garrison. The hopes of storming a place without men to defend it, occasioned reiterated attacks. After two days siege, they retired, fearing to be intercepted in their retreat. Two years after, a party of the same nation appeared before the fort so unexpectedly, that a girl of fourteen, daughter of the proprietor, had but time to shut the gate. With the young woman there was not a soul but one raw soldier. She shewed herself with her assistant, sometimes in one place, sometimes in another ; changing her dress frequently in order to give some appearance of a garrison, and always fired opportunely. The faint-hearted Iroquois decamped without success.

But if the Americans abound not with active courage, their passive courage is beyond conception. Every writer expatiates upon the torments they

they endure, not only patiently, but with singular fortitude; deriding their tormentors, and braving their utmost cruelty. North-American savages differ indeed so widely from those formerly in Europe, that it is difficult to conceive them to be of the same race. Passive courage they have, even to a wonder; but abound not in active courage: our European forefathers, on the contrary, were much more remarkable for active courage than for passive. The Kamskatkans in every article, resemble the North-Americans. In war they are full of stratagem, but never attack openly if they can avoid it. When victorious, they murder without mercy, burn their prisoners alive, or tear out their bowels. If they be surrounded, and cannot escape, they turn desperate, cut the throats of their wives and children, and throw themselves into the midst of their enemies. And yet these people are abundantly free. Their want of active courage is the more surprising, because they make no difficulty of suicide when they fall into any distress. But their passive courage is equal to that of the Americans: when tortured in order to extort a confession, they show the utmost firmness; and seldom discover more than what they freely confess at their first examination.

The savages of Guiana are indolent, good-natured, submissive, and a little cowardly; tho' they yield not to the North-Americans as to equality and independence. The inhabitants of the Marion or Ladrone islands live in a state of perfect equality: every man avenges the injury done to himself; and even children are regardless of their parents. Yet these people are great cowards; in battle indeed they utter loud shouts; but it is more to animate themselves than to terrify the enemy. The negroes in the slave-coast of Guinea are good-natured and obliging; but not remarkable for cou-

rage. The Laplanders are of all the human species the most timid : upon the slightest surprise they fall down in a swoon like the feeblest female in England : thunder shakes them to pieces. The face of their country is nothing but rocks covered with moss : it would be scarce habitable but for rain-deer, on which the Laplanders chiefly depend for food.

The Macassars, inhabitants of the island Celebes in the torrid zone, differ from all other people. They have active courage above even the fiercest European savages ; and they equal the North-American savages in passive courage. During the reign of Chaw Naraya, King of Siam, a small party of Macassars, who were in the king's pay, having revolted, it required a whole army of Siamites to subdue them. Four Macassars, taken alive, were cruelly tortured. They were beat to mummy with cudgels, iron pins thrust under their nails, all their fingers broken, the flesh burnt off their arms, and their temples squeezed between boards ; yet they bore all with unparalleled firmness. They even refused to be converted to Christianity, tho' the Jesuits upon that occasion offered to intercede for them. A tiger, let loose, having fastened on the foot of one of them, the man never once offered to draw it away. Another, without uttering a word, bore the tiger breaking the bones of his back. A third suffered the animal to lick the blood from his face, without shrinking, or turning away his eyes. During the whole of that horrid spectacle, they never once bewailed themselves, nor were heard to groan.

In concluding from the foregoing facts, that there are different races of men, I reckon upon strenuous opposition, not only from men biassed against what is new or uncommon, but from numberless sedate writers, who hold every distinguish-
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ing mark, internal as well as external, to be the effect of soil and climate. Against the former, patience is my only shield; but I cannot hope for any converts to a new opinion, without removing the arguments urged by the latter.

Among the endless number of writers who ascribe supreme efficacy to the climate, Vitruvius shall take the lead. The first chapter of his sixth book is entirely employed in describing the influence of climate on the constitution and temper of the natives. The following is the substance: "For the
" sun, where he throws out a moderate degree of
" moisture, preserves the body in a temperate state;
" but where his rays are more fierce, he drains
" the body of moisture. In very cold regions,
" where the moisture is not suck'd up by the heat,
" the body, sucking in the dewy air, rises to a
" great size, and has a deep tone of voice. Nor-
" thern nations accordingly, from cold and moi-
" sture, have large bodies, a white skin, red hair,
" grey eyes, and much blood. Nations, on the
" contrary, near the equator, are of small stature,
" tawny complexion, curled hair, black eyes, slender legs, and little blood. From want of blood,
" they are cowardly: but they bear fevers well,
" their constitution being formed by heat. Nor-
" thern nations, on the contrary, sink under a fever;
" but from the abundance of blood, they are
" bold in war." In another part of the chapter, he adds, "From the thinness of the air, and en-
" livening heat, southern nations are quick in
" thought, and acute in reasoning. Those in the
" north, on the contrary, which breathe a thick and
" cold air, are dull and stupid." And this he illustrates from the case of serpents, which in summer-heat are active and vigorous; but in winter, become torpid and immoveable. He then proceeds as follows. "It is then not at all surprising,

“ that heat should sharpen the understanding, and
 “ cold blunt it. Thus the southern nations are
 “ ready in counsel and acute in thought; but make
 “ no figure in war, their courage being exhausted
 “ by the heat of the sun. The inhabitants of
 “ cold climates, prone to war, rush on with vehe-
 “ mence without the least fear; but are slow of
 “ understanding.” Then he proceeds to account,
 upon the same principle, for the superiority of the
 Romans in arms, and for the extent of their em-
 “ pire. “ For as the planet Jupiter lies between
 “ the fervid heat of Mars and the bitter cold of
 “ Saturn; so Italy, in the middle of the tem-
 “ perate zone, possesses all that is favourable in
 “ either climate. Thus by conduct in war she
 “ overcomes the impetuous force of northern bar-
 “ barians; and by vigour of arms confounds the
 “ politic schemes of her southern neighbours. Di-
 “ vine Providence appears to have placed the Ro-
 “ mans in that happy situation, in order that they
 “ might become masters of the world.”—Vege-
 tius accounts for the different characters of men
 from the same principle. “ *Omnes nationes quæ*
 “ *vicinæ sunt soli, nimio calore ficcatas, amplius*
 “ *quidem sapere, sed minus habere sanguinis di-*
 “ *cunt: ac propterea constantiam ac fiduciam co-*
 “ *minus non habere pugnandi, quia metuunt vul-*
 “ *nera qui se exiguum sanguinem habere noverunt.*
 “ *Contra, septentrionales populi, remoti a solis*
 “ *ardoribus, inconsultiores quidem, sed tamen lar-*
 “ *go sanguine redundantes, sunt ad bella promptif-*
 “ *simi (o) *.*”—Servius, in his commentary on the
 the

(o) Lib. 1. cap. 2. De re militari.

* “ Nations near the sun, being exsiccated by exces-
 “ sive heat, are said to have a greater acuteness of un-
 “ derstanding, but less blood: on which account, in
 fighting

“ the *Æneid* of Virgil (*p*), says, “ *Afri versipelles, Græci leves, Galli pigrioris ingenii, quod natura climatum facit* †.” — Mallet, in the introduction to his history of Denmark, copying Vitruvius and Vegetius, strains hard to derive ferocity and courage in the Scandinavians from the climate:

“ A great abundance of blood, fibres strong and rigid, vigour inexhaustible, formed the temperament of the Germans, the Scandinavians, and of all other people who live under the same climate. Robust by the climate, and hardened with exercise, confidence in bodily strength formed their character. A man who relies on his own force cannot bear restraint, nor submission to the arbitrary will of another. As he has no occasion for artifice, he is altogether a stranger to fraud or dissimulation. As he is always ready to repel force by force, he is not suspicious nor distrustful. His courage prompts him to be faithful in friendship, generous, and even magnanimous. He is averse to occupations that require more assiduity than action; because moderate exercise affords not to his blood and fibres that degree of agitation which suits them. Hence his disgust at arts and manufactures; and as passion labours to justify itself, hence his opinion,

“ fighting they are deficient in firmness and resolution; and dread the being wounded, as conscious of their want of blood. The northern people, on the contrary, removed from the ardor of the sun, are less remarkable for the powers of the mind; but abounding in blood, they are prone to war.”

(*p*) Lib. 6. ver. 724.

† “ The Africans are subtle and full of stratagem, the Greeks are fickle, the Gauls slow of parts, all which diversities are occasioned by the climate.”

“ that war only and hunting are honourable professions.” Before subscribing to this doctrine, I wish to be satisfied of a few particulars. Is our author certain, that inhabitants of cold countries have the greatest quantity of blood? And is he certain, that courage is in every man proportioned to the quantity of his blood *? Is he also certain, that ferocity and love of war did universally obtain among the northern Europeans? Tacitus reports a very different character of the Chauci, who inhabited the north of Germany: “ Tam immensum terrarum spatium non tenent tantum Chauci, sed et implent: populus inter Germanos nobilissimus, quique magnitudinem suam malit justitia tueri. Sine cupiditate, sine impotentia, quieti, secretique, nulla provocant bella, nullis rapibus aut latrociniis populantur. Idque præcipuum virtutis ac virium argumentum est, quod ut superiores agunt, non per injurias asequuntur. Prompta tamen omnibus arma, ac,

* At that rate, the loss of an ounce of blood may turn the balance. Courage makes an essential ingredient in magnanimity and heroism: are such elevated virtues corporeal merely? is the mind admitted for no share? This indeed would be a mortifying circumstance in the human race. But even supposing courage to be corporeal merely, it is however far from being proportioned to the quantity of blood: a greater quantity than can be circulated freely and easily by the force of the heart and arteries, becomes a disease, termed a plethora. Bodily courage is chiefly founded on the solids. When by the vigour and elasticity of the heart and arteries a brisk circulation of blood is produced, a man is in good spirits, lively and bold; a greater quantity of blood, instead of raising courage to a higher pitch, never fails to produce sluggishness, and depression of mind.

“ si

“ si res poscat, exercitus * (g).” Again, with respect to the Aarii, he bears witness, that beside ferocity and strength of body, they are full of fraud and artifice. Neither do the Laplanders nor Samoides correspond to his description, being remarkable for pusillanimity, tho’ inhabitants of a bitter cold country (†). Lastly, a cold climate doth not always make the inhabitants averse to occupations that require more assiduity than action: the people of Iceland formerly were much addicted to study and literature; and for many centuries were the chief historians of the north. They are to this day fond of chess, and spend much of their time in that amusement: there is scarce a peasant but who has a chess-board and men. Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander report, that the peasants of Iceland are addicted to history, not only of their own country, but of that of Europe.

The most formidable antagonist remains still on hand, viz. Montesquieu, who is a great champion

* “ So immense an extent of country is not possessed only, but filled by the Chauci; a race of people the noblest among the Germans, and who chuse to maintain their grandeur by justice rather than by violence. Confident of their strength, without the thirst of increasing their possessions, they live in quietness and security: they kindle no wars; they are strangers to plunder and to rapine; and what is the chief evidence both of their power and of their virtue; without oppressing any, they have attained a superiority over all. Yet when occasion requires, they are prompt to take the field; and their troops are speedily raised.”

(g) De moribus Germanorum, cap. 35.

† Scheffer, in his history of Lapland, differs widely from the authors mentioned; for he ascribes the pusillanimity of the Laplanders to the coldness of their climate.

for the climate; observing, that in hot climates people are timid like old men, and in cold climates bold like young men. This in effect is to maintain, that the torrid zone is an unfit habitation for men; that they degenerate in it, lose their natural vigour, and even in youth become like old men. That justly celebrated author certainly intended not any imputation on Providence; and yet, doth it not look like an imputation, to maintain, that so large a portion of the globe is fit for beasts only, not for men? He ought to have explained why a certain race of men may not be fitted for a hot climate, as others are for a temperate, or for a cold one. There does not appear any opposition between heat and courage; more than between cold and courage: on the contrary, courage seems more connected with heat than with cold. The fiercest and boldest animals, a lion, for example, a tiger, a panther, thrive no where so much as in the hottest climates. The great condor of Peru in the torrid zone, is a bird not a little fierce and rapacious. A lion visibly degenerates in a temperate climate. The lions of Mount Atlas, which is sometimes crowned with snow, have not the boldness nor the force, nor the ferocity of such as tread the burning sands of Zaara and Biledulgerid. Our author, it is true, endeavours to support his opinion by natural causes. These are ingenious and plausible; but unluckily they are contradicted by stubborn facts, which will appear upon a very slight survey of this globe. The Samoides and Laplanders are living instances of uncommon pusillanimity in the inhabitants of a cold climate; and instances, not few in number, have been mentioned of warlike people in a hot climate. To these I add the Hindows, whom our author will not admit to have any degree of courage; tho' he acknowledges, that, prompted by religion, the men voluntarily submit to dreadful tortures,
and

and that even women are ambitious to burn themselves alive with their deceased husbands. In vain does he endeavour to account for such extraordinary exertions of fortitude, active as well as passive, by the force of imagination; as if imagination could operate more forcibly in a woman to burn herself alive, than on a man to meet his enemy in battle. The Malaysans and Scandinavians live in very opposite climates, and yet are equally courageous. Providence has placed these nations each of them in its proper climate: cold would benumb a Malayan in Sweden, heat would enervate a Swede in Malacca; and both would be rendered cowards. I stop here; for to enter the lists against an antagonist of so great fame, gives me a feeling as if I were treading on forbidden ground.

The colour of the Negroes, as above observed, affords a strong presumption of their being a different race from the Whites; and I once thought, that the presumption was supported by inferiority in their understanding. But it appears to me doubtful, upon second thoughts, whether the inferiority of their understanding may not be occasioned by their condition. A man never ripens in judgement nor in prudence but by exercising these powers. At home the negroes have little occasion to exercise either of them: they live upon fruits and roots, which grow without culture: they need little cloathing: and they erect houses without trouble or art. Abroad, they are miserable slaves, having no encouragement either to think or to act. Who can say how far they might improve in a state of freedom, were they obliged, like Europeans, to procure bread with the sweat of their brows? Some kingdoms in Negroland, particularly that of Whidah, have made great improvements in government, in police, and in manners. The negroes, particularly on the gold-coast, are naturally gay: they

they are industrious, apprehend readily what is said to them, have a good judgement, are equitable in their dealings, and accommodate themselves readily to the manners of strangers.

I shall close the survey with some instances that seem to differ widely from the common nature of man. The Giagas, a fierce and wandering nation in the heart of Africa, are in effect land-pirates, at war with all the world. They indulge in polygamy; but bury all their children the moment of birth, and chuse in their stead the most promising children taken in war. There is no principle among animals more prevalent than affection to their offspring: supposing the Giagas to be born without hands or without feet, would they be more distinguishable from the rest of mankind * ? The author of an account of Guiana, mentioning a deadly poison composed by the natives, says, “ I do not find that even in their wars they ever use poisoned arrows. And yet it may be wondered, that a people living under no laws, actuated with no religious principle, and unrestrained by the fear of present or future punishment,

* I have oftener than once doubted, whether the authors deserve credit from whom this account is taken; and, after all, I do not press it upon my readers. There is only one consideration that can bring it within the verge of probability, viz the little affection that male savages have for their new-born children, which appears from the ancient practice of exposing them. The affection of the mother commences with the birth of the child; and had she a vote, no infant would ever be destroyed. But as the affection of the father begins much later, the practice of destroying new-born infants may be thought not altogether incredible in a wandering nation who live by rapine, and who can provide themselves with children more easily than by the tedious and precarious method of rearing them.

“ should

“ should not sometimes employ that fatal poison for
“ gratifying hatred, jealousy, or revenge. But in a state
“ of nature, tho’ there are few restraints, there
“ are also fewer temptations to vice; and the dif-
“ ferent tribes are doubtless sensible that poisoned
“ arrows in war would, upon the whole, do more
“ mischief than good.” This writer it would seem
has forgot, that prospects of future good or evil
never have influence upon savages. Is it his opi-
nion, that fear of future mischiefs to themselves,
would make the negroes of New Guinea abstain
from employing poisoned arrows against their ene-
mies? We have nothing but original disposition
to account for manners so singular in the savages
of Guiana. The Japanese resent injuries in a
manner which has not a parallel in any other
part of the world: it is indeed so singular as
scarce to be consistent with human nature. Others
wreak their resentment on the person who affronts
them; but an inhabitant of Japan wreaks it on
himself: he rips up his own belly. Kempfer re-
ports the following instance. A gentleman coming
down the great stair of the Emperor’s palace, pas-
sed another going up, and their swords happened
to clash. The person descending took offence:
the other excused himself, saying that it was acci-
dental: adding, that swords only were concerned,
and that his was as good as the other. I’ll show
you the difference, says the person who began the
quarrel: he drew his sword, and ripped up his own
belly. The other, piqued at being thus prevented
in revenge, hastened up with a plate he had in his
hand for the Emperor’s table; and returning with
equal speed, he in like manner ripped up his belly
in sight of his antagonist, saying, “ If I had not
“ been serving my prince, you should not have got
“ the start of me; but I shall die satisfied, hav-
“ ing show’d you that my sword is as good as
“ yours.”

"yours." The same author gives an instance of uncommon ferocity in the Japanese, blended with manners highly polished. In the midst of a large company at dinner, a young woman, straining to reach a plate, unwarily suffered wind to escape. Ashamed and confounded, she raised her breasts to her mouth, tore them with her teeth, and expired on the spot. The Japanese are equally singular in some of their religious opinions. They never supplicate the gods in distress; holding, that as the gods enjoy uninterrupted bliss, such supplications would be offensive to them. Their holidays accordingly are dedicated to feasts, weddings, and all public and private rejoicings. It is delightful to the gods, say they, to see men happy. They are far from being singular in thinking that a benevolent deity is pleased to see men happy; but nothing can be more inconsistent with the common feelings of men, than to hold, that in distress it is wrong to supplicate the author of our nature for relief, and that he will be displeased with such supplication. In deep affliction, there is certainly no balm equal to that of pouring out the heart to a benevolent deity, and expressing entire resignation to his will.

In support of the foregoing doctrine, many particulars still more extraordinary might have been quoted from Greek and Roman writers: but truth has no occasion for artifice; and I would not take advantage of celebrated names to vouch facts that appear incredible or uncertain. The Greeks and Romans made an illustrious figure in poetry, rhetoric, and all the fine arts; but they were little better than novices in natural history. More than half of the globe was to them what the Terra Australis incognita is to us; and imagination operates without control when it is not checked by knowledge: the ignorant at the same time are delighted with wonders;

ders; and the more wonderful a story is, the more welcome it is made. This may serve as an apology for ancient writers, even when they relate and believe facts to us incredible. Men at that period were ignorant, in a great measure, of nature, and of the limits of her operations. One concession will be made to me, that the writers mentioned who report things at second-hand, are much more excusable than the earliest of our modern travellers, who pretend to vouch endless wonders from their own knowledge. Natural history, that of man especially, is of late years much ripened: no improbable tale is suffered to pass without a strict examination; and I have been careful to adopt no facts but what are vouched by late travellers and writers of credit. Were it true what Diodorus Siculus reports on the authority of Agatharchides of Cnidus, concerning the Ichthyophages on the east coast of Afric, it would be a more pregnant proof of a distinct race of men than any I have discovered. They are described to be so stupid, that even when their wives and children are killed in their sight, they stand insensible, and give no signs either of anger or of compassion. This I cannot believe upon so slight testimony; and the Greeks and Romans were at that time extremely credulous, being less acquainted with neighbouring nations, than we are with the Antipodes. The Balearic islands, Majorca, Minorca, Yvica, are at no great distance from Sicily; and yet Diodorus the Sicilian reports of the inhabitants, that at the solemnization of marriage all the male friends, and even the household servants, lay with the bride before the bridegroom was admitted. *Credat Judeus appella*. It would not be much more difficult to make me believe what is said by Pliny of the Blemmyans, that they had no head, and that the mouth and eyes were in the breast;

breast; or of the Arimaspi, who had but one eye, placed in the middle of the forehead; or of the Astomi, who having no mouth, could neither eat nor drink, but lived upon smelling; or of a thousand other absurdities which Pliny relates, with a grave face, in the 6th book of his natural history, cap. 30. and in the 7th book, cap. 2.

Thus upon an extensive survey of the inhabited parts of our globe, many nations are found differing so widely from each other, not only in complexion, in features, in shape, and in other external circumstances, but in temper and disposition, particularly in two capital articles, courage and the treatment of strangers, that even the certainty of there being different races could not make one expect more striking differences. Doth M. Buffon think it sufficient, barely to say, that such differences may possibly be the effect of climate, or of other accidental causes? The presumption is, that the differences subsisting at present have always subsisted; which ought to be held as true, till positive evidence be brought of the contrary: instead of which we are put off with bare suppositions and possibilities.

But not to rest entirely upon presumptive evidence, to me it appears clear from the very frame of the human body, that there must be different races of men fitted for different climates. Few animals are more affected than men generally are, not only with change of seasons in the same climate, but with change of weather in the same season. Can such a being be fitted for all climates equally? Impossible. A man must at least be hardened by nature against the slighter changes of seasons or weather: he ought to be altogether insensible of such changes. Yet from Sir John Pringle's observations on the diseases of the army, to go no further, it appears, that even military
men,

men, who ought of all to be the hardiest, are greatly affected by them. Horses and horned cattle sleep on the bare ground, wet or dry, without harm; and yet are not made for every climate: can a man be made for every climate, who is so much more delicate, that he cannot sleep on wet ground without hazard of some mortal disease?

But the argument I chiefly rely on is, That were all men of one species, there never could have existed, without a miracle, different kinds, such as exist at present. Giving allowance for every supposable variation of climate, or of other natural causes, what can follow, as observed about the dog-kind, but endless varieties among individuals, as among tulips in a garden, so as that no individual shall resemble another. Instead of which we find men of different kinds, the individuals of each kind remarkably uniform, and differing not less remarkably from the individuals of every other kind. Uniformity and permanency are the offspring of design, never of chance.

There is another argument that appears also to have weight: Horses with respect to size, shape, and spirit, differ widely in different climates. But let a male and a female, of whatever climate, be carried into a country where horses are in perfection, their progeny will improve gradually, and will acquire in time the perfection of their kind. Is not this a proof, that all horses are of one-kind? If so, men are not all of one kind; for if a White mix with a Black in whatever climate, or a Hottentot with a Samoide, the result will not be either an improvement of the kind, or the contrary; but a mongrel breed differing from both parents. It is thus ascertained beyond any rational doubt, that there are different races or kinds of men, and that these races or kinds are naturally fitted for different climates: whence we have reason to conclude,

clude, that originally each kind was placed in its proper climate, whatever change may have happened in later times by war or commerce.

There is a remarkable fact that confirms the foregoing conjectures. As far back as history goes, or tradition kept alive by history, the earth was inhabited by savages divided into many small tribes, each tribe having a language peculiar to itself. Is it not natural to suppose, that these original tribes were different races of men, placed in proper climates, and left to form their own language?

Upon summing up the whole particulars mentioned above, would one hesitate a moment to adopt the following opinion, were there no counterbalancing evidence, viz. "That God created
" many pairs of the human race, differing from
" each other both externally and internally; that
" he fitted these pairs for different climates, and
" placed each pair in its proper climate; that the
" peculiarities of the original pairs were preserved
" entire in their descendents; who, having no
" assistance but their natural talents, were left
" to gather knowledge from experience, and in
" particular were left (each tribe) to form a language for itself; that signs were sufficient for
" the original pairs, without any language but
" what nature suggests; and that a language was
" formed gradually, as a tribe increased in numbers, and in different occupations, to make
" speech necessary?' But this opinion, however plausible, we are not permitted to adopt; being taught a different lesson by revelation, viz. That God created but a single pair of the human species. Tho' we cannot doubt of the authority of Moses, yet his account of the creation of man is not a little puzzling, as it seems to contradict every one of the facts mentioned above. According to that account, different races of men were not formed, nor were
men

men formed originally for different climates. All men must have spoken the same language, viz. that of our first parents. And what of all seems the most contradictory to that account, is the savage state: Adam, as Moses informs us, was endued by his Maker with an eminent degree of knowledge; and he certainly was an excellent preceptor to his children and their progeny, among whom he lived many generations. Whence then the degeneracy of all men unto the savage state? To account for that dismal catastrophe, mankind must have suffered some terrible convulsion.

That terrible convulsion is revealed to us in the history of the tower of Babel, contained in the 11th chapter of Genesis, which is, "That for many centuries after the deluge, the whole earth was of one language, and of one speech; that they united to build a city on a plain in the land of Shinar, with a tower whose top might reach unto heaven; that the Lord beholding the people to be one, and to have all one language, and that nothing would be restrained from them which they imagined to do, confounded their language, that they might not understand one another; and scattered them abroad upon the face of all the earth." Here light breaks forth in the midst of darkness. By confounding the language of men, and scattering them abroad upon the face of all the earth, they were rendered savages. And to harden them for their new habitations, it was necessary that they should be divided into different kinds, fitted for different climates. Without an immediate change of constitution, the builders of Babel could not possibly have subsisted in the burning region of Guinea, nor in the frozen region of Lapland; houses not being prepared, nor any other convenience to protect them against a destructive climate.

Against

Against this history it has indeed been urged, "that the circumstances mentioned evince it to be purely an allegory; that men never were so frantic as to think of building a tower whose top might reach to heaven; and that it is grossly absurd, taking the matter literally, that the Almighty was afraid of men, and reduced to the necessity of saving himself by a miracle." But that this is a real history, must necessarily be admitted, as the confusion of Babel is the only known fact that can reconcile sacred and profane history.

And this leads us to consider the diversity of languages *. If the common language of men had

* As the social state is essential to man, and speech to the social state, the wisdom of Providence in fitting men for acquiring that necessary art, deserves more attention than is commonly bestowed on it. The Orang Outang has the external organs of speech in perfection; and many are puzzled to account why it never speaks. But the external organs of speech make but a small part of the necessary apparatus. The faculty of imitating sounds is an essential part; and wonderful would that faculty appear, were it not rendered familiar by practice: a child of two or three years, is able, by nature alone, without the least instruction, to adapt its organs of speech to every articulate sound; and a child of four or five years can pitch its windpipe so as to emit a sound of any elevation, which enables it with an ear to imitate the songs it hears. But above all the other parts, sense and understanding are essential to speech. A parrot can pronounce articulate sounds, and it has frequently an inclination to speak; but, for want of understanding, none of the kind can form a single sentence. Has an Orang Outang understanding to form a mental proposition? has he a faculty to express that proposition in sounds? and supposing him able to express what he sees and hears, what would he make of the connective and disjunctive particles?

not

not been confounded upon their attempting the tower of Babel, I affirm, that there never could have been but one language. Antiquaries constantly suppose a migrating spirit in the original inhabitants of this earth; not only without evidence, but contrary to all probability. Men never desert their connections nor their country without necessity: fear of enemies and of wild beasts, as well as the attraction of society, are more than sufficient to restrain them from wandering; not to mention that savages are peculiarly fond of their natal soil*. The first migrations were probably occasioned by factions and civil wars; the next by commerce. Greece affords instances of the former,

* With respect to the supposed migrating spirit, even Bochart must yield to Kempfer in boldness of conjecture. After proving, from difference of language, and from other circumstances, that Japan was not peopled by the Chinese, Kempfer without the least hesitation settles a colony there of those who attempted the tower of Babel. Nay, he traces most minutely their road to Japan; and concludes, that they must have travelled with great expedition, because their language has no tincture of any other. He did not think it necessary to explain, what temptation they had to wander so far from home; nor why they settled in an island, not preferable either in soil or climate to many countries they must have traversed.

An ingenious French writer observes, that plausible reasons would lead one to conjecture, that men were more early polished in islands than in continents; as people, crowded together, soon find the necessity of laws to restrain them from mischief. And yet, says he, the manners of islanders and their laws are commonly the latest formed. A very simple reflection would have unfolded the mystery. Many many centuries did men exist without thinking of navigation. That art was not invented till men, straitened in their quarters upon the continent, thought of occupying adjacent islands.

Phœnicia

Phœnicia of the latter. Unless upon such occasions, members of a family or of a tribe will never retire farther from their fellows than is necessary for food; and by retiring gradually, they lose neither their connections nor their manners, far less their language, which is in constant exercise. As far back as history carries us, tribes without number are discovered, each having a language peculiar to itself. Strabo (a) reports, that the Albanians were divided into several tribes, differing in external appearance and in language. Cæsar found in Gaul several such tribes; and Tacitus records the names of many tribes in Germany. There are a multitude of American tribes that to this day continue distinct from each other, and have each a different language. The mother-tongues at present, tho' numerous, bear no proportion to what formerly existed. We find original tribes gradually enlarging; by conquest frequently, and more frequently by the union of weak tribes for mutual defence. Such events promote one language instead of many. The Celtic tongue, once extensive, is at present confined to the highlands of Scotland, to Wales, to Britany, and to a part of Ireland. In a few centuries, it will share the fate of many other original tongues: it will be totally forgotten.

If men had not been scattered every where upon the confusion of Babel, another particular must have occurred, differing not less from what has really happened than that now mentioned. As paradise is conjectured to have been situated in the heart of Asia, the surrounding regions, for the reason above given, must have been first peopled; and the civilization and improvements of the mother-country were undoubtedly carried along to every new settlement. In particular, the colonies

planted in America, the South-sea islands, and the Terra Australis incognita, must have been highly polished; because, being at the greatest distance, they probably were the latest. And yet these and other remote people, the Mexicans and Peruvians excepted, remain to this day in the original savage state of hunting and fishing.

Thus, had not men wildly attempted to build a tower whose top might reach to heaven, all men would not only have spoken the same language, but would have made the same progress toward maturity of knowledge and civilization. That deplorable event reversed all nature: by scattering men over the face of all the earth, it deprived them of society, and rendered them savages. From that state of degeneracy, they have been emerging gradually. Some nations, stimulated by their own nature, or by their climate, have made a rapid progress; some have proceeded more slowly; and some continue savages. To trace out that progress toward maturity in different nations, is the subject of the present undertaking.

SKETCH

S K E T C H II.

Progress of Men with respect to Food and Population.

IN temperate climates, the original food of men was fruits that grow without culture, and the flesh of land-animals. As such animals become shy when often hunted, there is a contrivance of nature, no less simple than effectual, which engages men to bear with cheerfulness the fatigues of hunting, and the uncertainty of capture; and that is, an appetite for hunting. Hunger alone is not sufficient: savages, who act by sense not by foresight, move not when the stomach is full; and it would be too late when the stomach is empty, to form a hunting-party. As this appetite belongs to every savage who depends on hunting for procuring food; it is one instance, among many, of providential wisdom, in adapting the internal constitution of man to his external circumstances. The appetite for hunting, tho' among us little necessary for food, is, to this day, visible in our young men, high and low, rich and poor. Natural propensities may be rendered faint or obscure, but never are totally eradicated.

It is probable, that fish was not early the food of man. Water is not our element; and savages probably did not attempt to draw any food from the sea or from rivers, till land-animals turned scarce. Plutarch in his *Symposiacs* observes, that the Syrians and Greeks of old abstained from fish. Menelaus (a) complains, that his companions had been reduced by hunger to that food; and tho' the

(a) Book 4. of the *Odyssey*.

Grecian camp, at the siege of Troy, was on the sea-shore, there is not in Homer a single hint of their feeding on fish. We learn from Dion Cassius, that the Caledonians did not eat fish, tho' they had them in plenty; which is confirmed by Adamannus, a Scotch historian, in his life of St. Columba. The ancient Caledonians depended almost entirely on deer for food, because in a cold country the fruits that grow spontaneously afford very little nourishment; and domestic animals, which at present so much abound, were not early known in the north of Britain.

Antiquaries talk of acorns, nuts, and other shell-fruits, as the only vegetable food that men had originally; overlooking wheat, rice, barley, &c. which must, from the creation, have grown spontaneously: for surely, when agriculture first commenced, seeds of these plants were not procured by a miracle*. The Laplanders, possessing a country
where

* Writers upon natural history have been solicitous to discover the original climate of these plants; but without much success. The original climate of plants left to nature, cannot be a secret: but in countries well peopled, the plants mentioned are not left to nature; the seeds are carefully gathered, and stored up for food. As this practice could not fail to make these seeds scarce, agriculture was early thought of, which, by introducing plants into new soils and new climates, has rendered the original climate obscure. If we can trace that climate, it must be in regions destitute of inhabitants, or but thinly peopled. The Sioux, a very small tribe in North-America, possess a vast country, where oats grow spontaneously in meadows and on the sides of rivers, which make part of their food, without necessity of agriculture. While the French possessed Port Dauphin in the island of Madagascar, they raised excellent wheat. That station was deserted many years ago; and to this day

where corn will not grow, make bread of the inner bark of trees; and Linneus reports, that swine there fatten on that food, as well as in Sweden upon corn.

Plenty of food procured by hunting and fishing, promotes population: but as consumption of food increases with population, wild animals, sorely persecuted, become not only more rare but more shy. Men, thus pinched for food, are excited to try other means for supplying their wants. A fawn, a kid, or a lamb, taken alive, and tamed for amusement, suggested probably flocks and herds, and introduced the shepherd-state. Changes are not perfected but by slow degrees: hunting and fishing continue for a long time favourite occupations; and the few animals that are domesticated, serve as a common stock to be distributed among individuals, according to their wants. But as the idle and indolent, tho' the least deserving, are thus the greatest consumers of the common stock, an improvement was suggested, that every family should rear a stock for themselves. Men by that politic regulation being taught to rely on their own industry, display'd the hoarding-principle, which multiplied flocks and herds exceedingly. And thus the shepherd-state was perfected, plenty of food being supplied at home, without ranging the woods or the waters. Hunting and fishing being no longer necessary for

grows naturally among the grass in great vigour. In the country about Mount Tabor in Palestine, barley and oats grow spontaneously. In the kingdom of Siam, there are many spots where rice grows spontaneously, year after year, without any culture. Diodorus Siculus is our authority for saying, that in the territory of Leontinum, and in other parts of Sicily, wheat grew wild without any culture. And it does so to this day about Mount Etna.

food,

food, became an amusement merely, and a gratification of the original appetite for hunting.

The finger of God may be clearly traced in the provision made of animal food for man. Gramenivorous animals, perhaps all, make palatable and wholesome food. I except not the horse: some nations feed on it; others do not, because it is more profitable by its labour. Carnivorous animals, generally speaking, make not wholesome food nor palatable. The first-mentioned animals are gentle, and easily domesticated: the latter are fierce, not easily tamed, and uncertain in temper when tamed. Grass grows every where in temperate regions; and men beside can multiply animal food without end, by training domestic animals to live on turnip, carrot, potato, and other roots, &c. Herodotus adds the following admirable reflection: "We may rationally conjecture, that Divine Providence has rendered extremely prolific such creatures as are naturally fearful, and serve for food; lest they should be destroyed by constant consumption: whereas the rapacious and cruel are almost barren. The hare, which is the prey of beasts, birds, and men, is a great breeder: a lioness, on the contrary, the strongest and fiercest of beasts, brings forth but once."

The shepherd-state is friendly to population. Men by plenty of food multiply apace; and in process of time neighbouring tribes, straitened in their pasture, go to war for extension of territory, or migrate to grounds not yet occupied. Necessity, the mother of invention, suggested agriculture. When corn growing spontaneously was rendered scarce by consumption, it was an obvious thought to propagate it by art: nature was the guide, which carries on its work of propagation with seeds, that drop from plants in their maturity, and spring up new plants. As the land was possessed in common, the seed of

course was sown in common, and stored in a common repository to be parcelled out among individuals in want, as the common stock of animals had been formerly. We have for our authority Diodorus Siculus, that the Celtiberians divided their land annually among individuals, to be laboured for the use of the public, and that the product was stored up, and distributed from time to time among the necessitous. A lasting division of the land among the members of the state, securing to each man the product of his own skill and labour, was a great spur to industry, and multiplied food exceedingly. Population made a rapid progress, and government became an art : for agriculture and commerce cannot flourish without salutary laws.

Natural fruits ripen to greater perfection in a temperate than in a cold climate, and cultivation is more easy ; which circumstances make it highly probable, that agriculture became first an art in temperate climes. The culture of corn was so early known in Greece, as to make a branch of its fabulous history : in Egypt it must have been coeval with the inhabitants ; for while the Nile overflows, they cannot subsist without corn (*b*). Nor without corn could the ancient monarchies of Assyria and Babylon have been so populous and powerful as they are said to have been. In the northern parts of Europe, wheat, barley, pease, and perhaps oats, are foreign plants : as the climate is not friendly to corn, agriculture must have crept northward by slow degrees ; and even at present, it requires no small portion both of skill and industry to bring corn to maturity in such a climate. Hence it may be inferred with certainty, that the shepherd-state continued longer in northern climates than in those nearer the sun. Cold countries however are friend-

(*b*) Historical Law-tracts, tract. 1.

ly to population; and the northern people, multiplying beyond the food that can be supplied by flocks and herds, were compelled to throw off many swarms in search of new habitations. Their frequent migrations were for many years a dreadful scourge to neighbouring kingdoms. People, amazed at the multitude of the invaders, judged, that the countries from whence they issued must have been exceedingly populous; and hence the North was termed *officina gentium*; but scarcity of food in the shepherd-state was the true cause. The north of Europe, in all probability, is as well peopled at present as ever it was, tho' its migrations have ceased, corn and commerce having put an end to that pestilence *. Denmark at present feeds 2,000,000 of inhabitants, Sweden, according to a list made up anno 1760, 2,383,113; and these countries must be much more populous than of old, when over-run with immense woods, and agriculture utterly unknown. Had the Danes and Norwegians

* Aliquando bonus dormitat Homerus. Montesquieu accounts as follows for the great swarms of Barbarians that overwhelmed the Roman empire. " Ces essaims de Barbares qui sortirent autrefois du nord, ne paroissent plus aujourd'hui. Les violences des Romains avoient fait retirer les peuple du midi au nord: tandis que la force qui les contenoit subsista, ils y restèrent; quand elle fut affoiblie, ils se repandirent de toutes parts." Grandeur des Romains, c. 16.—[In English thus: " The swarms of Barbarians who poured formerly from the north, appear no more. The violence of the Roman arms had driven those nations from the south towards the north: there they remained during the subsistence of that force which retained them; but that being once weakened, they spread abroad to every quarter."] — It has quite escaped him, that men cannot, like water, be dam'd up without being fed.

been acquainted with agriculture in the ninth and tenth centuries, when they poured out multitudes upon their neighbours, they would not have ventured their lives in frail vessels upon a tempestuous ocean, in order to distress nations who were not their enemies. But hunger is a cogent motive; and hunger gave to these pirates superiority in arms above every nation that enjoyed plenty at home. Luckily such depredations must have intervals; for as they necessarily occasion great havock even among the victors, the remainder finding sufficiency of food at home, rest there till an increasing population force them again to action *. Agriculture, which fixes people to a spot, is an invincible obstacle to migration; and happy it is for Europe, that agriculture, now universally diffused, has put an end for ever to such migrations: the northern people find occupation and sustenance at home, without infesting others. Agriculture is a great blessing: it not only affords us food in plenty, but secures the fruits of our industry from hungry and rapacious invaders †.

That the progress above traced must have proceeded from some vigorous impulse will be admitted, considering the prevailing influence of custom: once hunters, men will always be hunters, till they

* Joannes Magnus, in the 8th book of his history of the Goths, mentions, that a third part of the Swedes, being compelled by famine to leave their native country, founded the kingdom of the Longobards in Italy.

† Mahomet Bey, King of Tunis, was dethroned by his subjects; but having the reputation of the philosopher's stone, he was restored by the Dey of Algiers, upon promising to communicate the secret to him. Mahomet sent a plough with great pomp and ceremony, intimating, that agriculture is the strength of a kingdom, and that the only philosopher's stone is a good crop, which may be easily converted into gold.

be forc'd out of that state by some overpowering cause. Hunger, the cause here assigned, is of all the most overpowering ; and the same cause, overcoming indolence and idleness, has introduced manufactures, commerce, and variety of arts*.

The progress here delineated has, in all temperate climates of the old world, been precisely uniform ; but it has been different in the extremes of cold and hot climates. In very cold regions, which produce little vegetable food for man, the hunter-state was originally essential. In temperate regions, as observed above, men subsisted partly on vegetable food, which is more and more plentiful in proportion to the heat of the climate. In the torrid

* Buffoon discoursing of America, " Is it not singular," says he, " that in a world composed almost wholly of savages, there never should have been any society or commerce between them and the animals about them ? There was not a domestic animal in America when discovered by Columbus, except among the polished people of Mexico and Peru. Is not this a proof, that man, in his savage state, is but a sort of brute animal, having no faculties but to provide for his subsistence, by attacking the weak, and avoiding the strong ; and having no idea of his superiority over other animals, which he never once thinks of bringing under subjection ? This is the more surprising, as most of the American animals are by nature docile and timid." Our author, without being sensible of it, lays a foundation for a satisfactory answer to these questions, by what he adds, viz. That in the whole compass of America, when discovered by the Spaniards, there were not half the number of people that are in Europe ; and that such scarcity of men favoured greatly the propagation of wild animals, which had few enemies and much food. Was it not obvious to conclude from these premises, that while men, who by nature are fond of hunting, have game in plenty, they never think of turning shepherds ?

zone, natural fruits are produced in such plenty and perfection, as to be more than sufficient for a moderate population : and in case of extraordinary population, the transition to husbandry is easy. There are found accordingly in every populous country of the torrid zone, crops of rice, maize, roots, and other vegetable food, raised by the hand of man. As hunting becomes thus less and less necessary in the progress from cold to hot countries, the appetite for hunting keeps pace with that progress ; it is vigorous in very cold countries, where men depend on hunting for food ; it is less vigorous in temperate countries, where they are partly fed with natural fruits ; and there is scarce any vestige of it in hot countries, where vegetables are the food of men, and where meat is an article of luxury. The original occupation of savages, both in cold and temperate climates, is hunting, altogether essential in the former as the only means of procuring food. The next step of the progress in both, is the occupation of a shepherd ; and there the progress stops short in very cold regions, unfit for corn. Lapland in particular produces no vegetable but moss, which is the food of no animal but of the rain-deer. This circumstance solely is what renders Lapland habitable by men. Without rain-deer, the sea-coasts within the reach of fish would admit some inhabitants ; but the inland parts would be a desert. As the swiftness of that animal makes it not an easy prey, the taming it for food must have been early attempted ; and its natural docility made the attempt succeed. It yields to no other animal in usefulness : it is equal to a horse for draught : its flesh is excellent food ; and the female gives milk more nourishing than that of a cow : its fur is fine ; and the leather made of its skin, is both soft and durable. In Tartary, tho' a great part of it lies in a temperate zone, there is little corn. As far back as tradi-
tion

tion reaches, the Tartars have had flocks and herds; and yet, in a great measure, they not only continue hunters, but retain the ferocity of that state: they are not fond of being shepherds, and have not any knowledge of husbandry. This in appearance is singular; but nothing happens without a cause. Tartary is one continued mountain from west to east, rising high above the countries to the south; and declining gradually to the northern ocean, without a single hill to intercept the bitter blasts of the north. A few spots excepted, a tree above the size of a shrub cannot live in it *. In Europe, the mountains of Norway and Lapland are a comfortable screen against the north wind: whence it is, that the ground about Stockholm (*c*) produces both trees and corn; and even about Abo (*d*) the climate is tolerable. Great Tartary abounds with pasture; but extreme cold renders it very little capable of corn. Thro' all Chinese Tartary, even as low as the 43d degree of latitude, the frost continues seven or eight months every year; and that country, tho' in the latitude of France, is as cold as Iceland; the causes of which are its nitrous soil, and its height without any shelter from the west wind that has passed through an immense continent extremely cold. A certain place near the source of the river Kavamhuran, and within 80 leagues of the great wall, was found by Father Verbeist to be 3000 geometrical paces above the level of the sea. Thus the Tartars, like the Laplanders, are chained to the shepherd-state, and can never advance to be husband-

* May not a similar situation in some parts of North America, be partly the occasion of the cold that is felt there, beyond what Europe feels in the same latitude?

(*c*) Latitude 59.

(*d*) Latitude 61.

men. If population among them ever be so great as to require more food than the shepherd-state can supply, migration will be their only resource.

In every step of the progress, the torrid zone differs. We have no evidence that either the hunter or shepherd state were ever known there : the inhabitants at present subsist upon vegetable food ; and probably did so from the beginning. In Manila, one of the Philippine islands, the trees bud, blossom, and bear fruit, all the year round. The natives, driven from the sea-coast to the inland parts, have no particular place of abode, but live under the shelter of trees, which afford them food as well as habitation ; and when the fruit is consumed in one spot, they remove to another. The orange, lemon, and other European trees, bear fruit twice a-year : a sprig planted bears fruit within the year. And this picture of Manila answers to numberless places in the torrid zone. The Marian or Ladrone islands are extremely populous ; and yet the inhabitants live entirely on fish, fruits, and roots. The inhabitants of the new Philippine islands live on cocoa-nuts, salads, roots, and fish. The inland negroes make but one meal a-day, which is in the evening. Their diet is plain, consisting mostly of rice, fruits, and roots. The island of Otaheite is healthy, the people tall and well made ; and by temperance, vegetables and fish being their chief nourishment, they live to a good old age, with scarce any ailment. There is no such thing known among them as rotten teeth : the very smell of wine or spirits is disagreeable ; and they never deal in tobacco nor spices. In many places Indian corn is the chief nourishment, which every man plants for himself. The inhabitants of Biledulgerid and the desert of Zaara have but two meals a-day, one in the morning, and one in the evening. Being temperate, and strangers to the diseases

diseases of luxury and idleness, they generally live to a great age. Sixty with them is the prime of life, as thirty is in Europe. An inhabitant of Madagascar will travel two or three days without any food but a sugar cane. There is indeed little appetite for animal food in hot climates; tho' beef and fowl have in small quantities been introduced to the tables of the great, as articles of luxury. In America are observable some variations from the progress; but these are reserved for a separate sketch (e).

With respect to population in particular, that plenty of food is its chief cause, may be illustrated by the following calculation. The southern provinces of China produce two crops of rice in a year, sometimes three; and an acre well cultivated gives food to ten mouths. The peasants go almost naked; and the better sort wear but a single garment made of cotton, of which as much is produced upon an acre as may cloath four or five hundred persons. Hence the extreme populousness of China and other rice countries. The Cassave root, which serves the Americans for bread, is produced in such plenty, that an acre of it will feed more persons than six acres of wheat. It is not then for want of food that America is ill peopled. That Negroland is well peopled is past doubt, considering the great annual draughts from that country to America, without any apparent diminution of numbers. Instances are not extremely rare of 200 children born to one man by his different wives. Food must be extremely plentiful to enable a man to maintain so many children. It would require extraordinary skill and labour to make Europe so populous: an acre and an half of wheat is barely sufficient to maintain a single family of peasants; and their

cloathing requires many more acres. A country of savages, who live chiefly by hunting, must be very thin of inhabitants ; as 10,000 or double that number of acres are no more than sufficient for maintaining a single family. If the multiplication of animals depended chiefly on fecundity, wolves would be more numerous than sheep : a great proportion of the latter are deprived of the procreating power, and many more of them are killed than of the former : yet we see every where large flocks of sheep, seldom a wolf ; for what reason, other than that the former have plenty of food, the latter very little ? A wolf resembles a savage who lives by hunting, and consumes the game of five or six hundred acres.

Waving the question, Whether the human race be the offspring of one pair, or of many, it appears the intention of Providence, that the earth should be peopled, and population be kept up by the ordinary means of procreation. By these means a tribe soon becomes too populous for the primitive state of hunting and fishing : it may even become too populous for the shepherd-state ; but probably a nation can scarce be too populous for husbandry. In the two former states, food must decrease in quantity as consumers increase in number : but agriculture has the signal property of producing, by industry, food in proportion to the number of consumers. In fact the greatest quantities of corn and of cattle are commonly produced in the most populous districts, where each family has its proportion of land. An ancient Roman, sober and industrious, made a shift to maintain his family on the product of a few acres *.

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* Scotland must have been very ill peopled in the days of its fifth James, when at one hunting in the high country.

The bounty given in Britain for exporting corn is friendly to population in two respects; first, because husbandry requires many hands; and, next, because the bounty lowers the price of corn at home. To give a bounty for exporting cattle would obstruct population; because pasture requires few hands, and exportation would raise the price of cattle at home. From the single port of Cork, an. 1735, were exported 107,161 barrels of beef; 7379 barrels of pork, 13,401 casks of butter, and 85,727 firkins of the same commodity. Thus a large portion of Ireland is set apart for feeding other nations. What addition of strength would it not be to Britain, if that large quantity of food were consumed at home by useful manufacturers!

Lapland is but thinly inhabited even for the shepherd-state, the country being capable of maintaining a greater number of rein-deer, and consequently a greater number of the human species than are found in it. At the same time, the Laplanders are well acquainted with private property: every family has tame rein deer of their own, to the extent sometimes of four or five hundred. They indeed seem to have more rein-deer than there is a demand for. Why then is Lapland so thinly peopled? Either it must have been but lately planted, or the inhabitants are not prolific. I incline to the latter, upon the authority of Scheffer. Tartary is also but thinly peopled; and as I find not that the Tartars are less prolific than their neighbours, it is probable that Tartary, being the most barren country in Asia, has not been early planted. At the same time population has been much re-

country of Roxburghshire, that Prince killed three hundred and sixty rein-deer; and in Athol, at another time, six hundred, besides roes, wolves, foxes, and wild cats.

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tarded by the restless and roaming spirit of that people: it is true, they have been forced into the shepherd-state by want of food; but so averse are they to the sedentary life of a shepherd, that they trust their cattle to slaves, and persevere in their favourite occupation of hunting. This disposition has been a dreadful pest to the human species, the Tartars having made more extensive conquests, and destroy'd more men, than any other nation known in history: more cruel than tigers, they seem'd to have no delight but in blood and massacre, without any regard either to sex or age *. Luckily for the human species, rich spoils dazzled their eyes, and roused an appetite for wealth. Avarice is sometimes productive of good: it moved these monsters to sell the conquered people for slaves, which preserved the lives of millions. Conquests, however successful, cannot go on for ever; they are not accomplished without great loss of men; and the conquests of the Tartars depopulated their country.

But as some centuries have elapsed without any considerable eruption of that fiery people, their numbers must at present be considerable by the ordinary progress of population. Have we not reason to dread new eruptions, like what formerly happened? Our foreknowledge of future events extends not far; but so far as it extends, we have nothing to fear from that quarter. The Tartars subdued a great part of the world by ferocity and undaunted courage, supported by liberty and independence. They acknowledged Genhizkan as their leader in war; but were as far from being slaves,

* When the Tartars under Genhizkan conquered China, it was seriously deliberated, whether they should not kill all the inhabitants, and convert that vast country into pasture-fields for their cattle.

as the Franks were when they conquered Gaul. Tamerlane again enjoyed but a substituted power, and never had the audacity to assume the title of Chan or Emperor. But the Tartars have submitted to the same yoke of despotism that their ferocity imposed upon others ; and being now governed by a number of petty tyrants, their courage is broken by slavery, and they are no longer formidable to the rest of mankind*.

Depopulation enters into the present sketch as well as population. The latter follows not with greater certainty from equality of property, than the former from inequality. In every great state, where the people, by prosperity and opulence, are sunk into voluptuousness, we hear daily complaints of depopulation. Cookery depopulates like a pestilence ; because when it becomes an art, it brings within the compass of one stomach what is sufficient for ten in days of temperance ; and is so far worse than a pestilence, that the people never recruit again. The inhabitants of France devour at present more food than the same number did formerly. The like is observable in Britain, and in every country where luxury abounds. Remedies are proposed and put in practice, celibacy disgraced, marriage encouraged, and rewards given for a nu-

* "*Gallos in bellis floruisse accepimus,*" says Tacitus in his life of Agricola ; "*mox segnitie cum otio intravit, amissa virtute pariter ac libertate.*"—[In English thus: " We have heard that the Gauls formerly made a figure in war ; but becoming a prey to indolence, the consequence of peace, they lost at once their valour and their liberty."]—Spain, which defended itself with great bravery against the Romans, became an easy prey to the Vandals in the fifth century. When attacked by the Romans, it was divided into many free states : when attacked by the Vandals, it was enervated by slavery under Roman despotism.

merous

merous offspring. All in vain ! The only effectual remedies are to encourage husbandry, and to repress luxury. Olivares hoped to re-people Spain by encouraging matrimony. Abderam, a Mahometan king of Cordova, was a better politician. By encouraging industry, and procuring plenty of food, he re-peopled his kingdom in less than thirty years*.

Luxury is a deadly enemy to population, not only by intercepting food from the industrious, but by weakening the power of procreation. Indolence accompanies voluptuousness, or rather is a branch of it : women of rank seldom move, but in changing place employ others to move them ; and a woman enervated by indolence and intemperance, is ill qualified for the severe labour of child-bearing. Hence it is, that people of rank, where luxury prevails, are not prolific. This infirmity not only prevents population, but increases luxury, by accumulating wealth among a few blood-relations. A barren woman among the labouring poor, is a wonder. Could women of rank be persuaded to make a trial, they would find more self-enjoyment in temperance and exercise, than in the most refined luxury ; and would have no cause to envy others the blessing of a numerous and healthy offspring.

Luxury is not a greater enemy to population by enervating men and women, than despotism is by

* A foundling hospital is a greater enemy to population than liberty to expose infants, which is permitted to parents in China, and in some other countries. Both of them indeed encourage matrimony : but in such hospitals, thousands perish yearly beyond the ordinary proportion ; whereas few infants perish by the liberty of exposing them, parental affection generally prevailing over the distress of poverty. And, upon the whole, population gains more by that liberty than it loses.

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reducing them to slavery, and destroying industry. Despotism is a greater pest to the human species than an Egyptian plague; for by rendering men miserable, it weakens both the appetite for procreation and the power. Free states, on the contrary, are always populous: a man who is happy longs for children to make them also happy; and industry enables him to accomplish his purpose. This observation is verified from the history of Greece, and of the Lesser Asia: the inhabitants anciently were free and extremely numerous; the present inhabitants, reduced to slavery, make a very poor figure with respect to numbers. A pestilence destroys those only who exist, and the loss is soon repaired; but despotism, as above observed, strikes at the very root of population.

An overflowing quantity of money in circulation, is another cause of depopulation. In a nation that grows rich by commerce, the price of labour increases with the quantity of circulating money, which of course raises the price of manufactures; and manufacturers who cannot find a vent for their high-rated goods in foreign markets, must give over business, and commence beggars, or retire to another country where they may have a prospect of success. But luckily, there is a remedy in that case to prevent depopulation: land is cultivated to greater perfection by the spade than by the plough; and the more plentiful crops produced by the spade are more than sufficient to defray the additional expence of cultivation. This is a resource for employing those who cannot make bread as manufacturers; and deserves well the attention of the legislature. The advantage of the spade is conspicuous with respect to war; it provides a multitude of robust men for recruiting our armies, the want of whom may be supplied by the plough, till they return in peace to their former occupation.

SKETCH

S K E T C H III.

Progress of Men with respect to PROPERTY.

AMONG the senses inherent in the nature of man, the sense of property is eminent. By this sense wild animals caught by labour or art, are perceived to belong to the hunter or fisher; they become his property. This sense is the foundation of *meum et tuum*, a distinction of which no human being is ignorant. In the shepherd-state, there is the same perception of property with respect to wild animals tamed for use, and also with respect to their progeny. It takes place also with respect to a field separated from the common, and cultivated by a man for bread to himself and family (*a*).

The sense of property is slower in its growth toward maturity than the external senses, which are perfect even in childhood; but ripens faster than the sense of congruity, of symmetry, of dignity, of grace, and other delicate senses, which scarce make any figure till we become men. Children discover a sense of property in distinguishing their own chair, and their own spoon. In them however it is faint and obscure, requiring time to bring it to perfection. The gradual progress of that sense, from its infancy among savages to its maturity among polished nations, is one of the most entertaining articles that belong to the present undertaking. But as that article makes a part of Historical law-tracts (*b*), nothing remains for me but a few gleanings.

(*a*) See Principles of Morality and Natural Religion, p. 77. edit. 2.

(*b*) Tract 3.

Man is by nature a hoarding animal, having an appetite for storing up things of use; and the sense of property is bestow'd on men, for securing to them what they thus store up. Hence it appears, that things provided by Providence for our sustenance and accommodation, were not intended to be possessed in common; and probably in the earliest ages every man separately hunted for himself and his family. But chance prevails in that occupation; and it may frequently happen, that while some get more than enough, others must go supperless to bed. Sensible of that inconvenience, it crept into practice, for hunting and fishing to be carried on in common *. We find accordingly the practice of hunting and fishing in common, even among gross savages. Those of New Holland, above mentioned, live upon small fish dug out of

* Inequalities of chance, which are great in a few instances, vanish almost entirely when the operation is frequently reiterated during a course of time. Did every man's subsistence depend on the fruits of his own field, many would die of hunger, while others wallowed in plenty. Barter and commerce among the inhabitants of a district, lessen the hazard of famine: the commerce of corn through a large kingdom, such as France or Britain, lessens it still more: extend that commerce through Europe, through the world, and there will remain scarce a vestige of the inequalities of chance: the crop of corn may fail in one province, or in one kingdom; but that it should fail universally is beyond the varieties of chance. The same observation holds in every other matter of chance: one's gain or loss at game for a night, for a week, may be considerable; but carry on the game for a year, and so little of chance remains, that it is almost the same whether one play for a guinea or for twenty. Hence a skilful insurer never ventures much upon one bottom; but multiplies his bargains as much as possible: the more bargains he is engaged in, the greater is the probability of success.

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the sand when the sea retires. Sometimes they get plenty, sometimes very little; but whether successful or unsuccessful, all is broiled and ate in common. After eating they go to rest: they return to their fishing next ebb of the tide, whether it be day or night, foul or fair; for go they must, or starve. In small tribes, where patriotism is vigorous, or in a country thinly peopled in proportion to its fertility, the living in common is extremely comfortable: but in a large state where selfishness prevails, or in any state where great population requires extraordinary culture, the best method is to allow every man to shift for himself and his family: men wish to labour for themselves; and they labour more ardently for themselves than for the public. Private property became more and more sacred in the progress of arts and manufactures: to allow an artist of superior talents no profit above others, would be a sad discouragement to industry, and be scarce consistent with common justice.

The sense of property is not confined to the human species. The beavers perceive the timber they store up for food, to be their property; and the bees seem to have the same perception with respect to their winter's provision of honey. Sheep know when they are in a trespass, and run to their own pasture on the first glimpse of a man. Monkeys do the same when detected in robbing an orchard. Sheep and horned cattle have a sense of property with respect to their resting-place in a fold or inclosure, which every one guards against the incroachments of others. He must be a sceptic indeed who denies that perception to rooks: thieves there are among them as among men; but if a rook purloin a stick from another's nest, a council is held, much chattering ensues, and the *lex talionis* is applied, by demolishing the nest of the criminal.

criminal. To man are furnished rude materials only: to convert these into food and cloathing requires industry; and if he had not a sense that the product of his labour belongs to himself, his industry would be extremely faint. In general, it is pleasant to observe, that the sense of property is always given where it is useful, and never but where it is useful.

An ingenious writer, describing the inhabitants of Guiana, who continue hunters and fishers, makes an eloquent harangue upon the happiness they enjoy, in having few wants and desires, and in having very little notion of private property. "The
" manners of these Indians exhibit an amiable picture of primeval innocence and happiness. The
" ease with which their few wants are supplied,
" renders division of land unnecessary; nor does it
" afford any temptation to fraud or violence. That
" proneness to vice, which among civilized nations
" is esteemed a propensity of nature, has no existence in a country where every man enjoys in
" perfection his native freedom and independence,
" without hurting or being hurt by others. A
" perfect equality of rank, banishing all distinctions
" but of age and personal merit, promotes freedom
" in conversation, and firmness in action; and
" suggests no desires but what may be gratified
" with innocence. Envy and discontent cannot
" subsist with perfect equality; we scarce even
" hear of a discontented lover, as there is no difference of rank and fortune, the common obstacles that prevent fruition. Those who have
" been unhappily accustomed to the refinements
" of luxury, will scarce be able to conceive, that
" an Indian, with no covering but what modesty
" requires, with no shelter that deserves the name
" of a house, and with no food but of the coarsest
" kind painfully procured by hunting, can feel any
" happiness:

“happiness: and yet to judge from external appearance, the happiness of these people may be envied by the wealthy of the most refined nations; and justly; because their ignorance of extravagant desires, and endless pursuits that torment the great world, excludes every wish beyond the present. In a word, the inhabitants of Guiana are an example of what Socrates justly observes, that those who want the least, approach the nearest to the Gods, who want nothing.” It must be acknowledged, that the innocence of savages, here painted in fine colours, is in every respect more amiable than the luxury of opulent cities, where sensuality and selfishness are ruling passions. But is our author unacquainted with a middle state between the two extremes, more suitable than either to the dignity of human nature? The appetite for property is not bestow’d upon us in vain: it has given birth to many useful arts, and to almost all the fine arts; it is still more useful in furnishing opportunity for gratifying the most dignified natural affections; for without private property, what place would there be for benevolence or charity (c)? Without private property, there would be no industry; and without industry, men would remain savages for ever.

The appetite for property, in its nature a great blessing, degenerates, I acknowledge, into a great curse when it transgresses the bounds of moderation. Before money was introduced, the appetite seldom was immoderate, because plain necessities were its only objects. But money is a species of property, of such extensive use as greatly to inflame the appetite. Money prompts men to be industrious; and the beautiful productions of industry and art, rousing the imagination, excite a violent desire of

fine houses, ornamented gardens, and of every thing gay and splendid. Habitual wants multiply: luxury and sensuality gain ground: the appetite for property becomes headstrong, and must be gratified even at the expence of justice and honour. Examples are without number of this progress; and yet the following history deserves to be kept in memory, as a striking and lamentable illustration. Hispaniola was that part of America which Columbus first discovered anno 1497. He landed upon the territory of Guacanaric, one of the principal Cacics of the island. That prince, who had nothing barbarous in his manners, received his guests with cordiality; and encouraged his people to vie with one another in obliging them. To gratify the Spanish appetite for gold, they parted freely with their richest ornaments; and in return, were satisfied with glass beads, and such baubles. The Admiral's ship having been tossed against the rocks in a hurricane, Guacanaric was not wanting to his friend on that occasion: he convened a number of men to assist in unloading the ship; and attended himself till the cargo was safely lodged in a magazine. The Admiral having occasion to return to Spain, left a part of his crew behind; who, forgetting the lessons of moderation he had taught them, turned licentious. The remonstrances of Guacanaric were in vain: they seized upon the gold and wives of the Indians; and in general treated them with great cruelty. Such enormities did not long pass unresented: the rapacious Spaniards, after much bloodshed, were shut up in their fort, and reduced to extremity. Unhappily a reinforcement arrived from Spain: a long and bloody war ensued, which did not end till the islanders were wholly brought under. Of this island, about 200 leagues in length and between sixty and eighty

eighty in breadth, a Spanish historian bears witness, that the inhabitants amounted to a million when Columbus landed *. The Spaniards, relentless in their cruelty, forc'd these poor people to abandon the culture of their fields, and to retire to the woods and mountains. Hunted like wild beasts even in these retreats, they fled from mountain to mountain, till hunger and fatigue, which destroy'd more than the sword, forc'd them to deliver themselves up to their implacable conquerors. There remained at that time but 60,000, who were divided among the Spaniards as slaves. Excessive fatigue in the mines, and want of even the common necessaries of life, reduced them in five years to 14,000. Considering them merely as beasts of burden, they would have yielded more profit had they been treated with less inhumanity. Avarice frequently counteracts its own end: by grasping too much, it loses all. The Emperor Charles resolved to apply some effectual remedy; but being interrupted for some time by various avocations, he got intelligence that the poor Indians were totally extirpated. And they were so in reality, a handful excepted, who lay hid in the mountains, and subsisted as by a miracle in the midst of their enemies. That handful were discovered many years after by some hunters; who treated them with humanity, regretting perhaps the barbarity of their forefathers. The poor Indians, docile and submissive, embraced the Christian religion, and assumed by degrees the manners

* As little corn was at that time produced in the island, and less of animal food, there is reason to suspect, that the numbers are exaggerated. But whether a million, or half of that number, the moral is the same.

and customs of their masters. They still exist, and live by hunting and fishing.

Affection for property ! Janus double-fac'd, productive of many blessings, but degenerating often to be a curse. In thy right hand, Industry, a cornucopia of plenty : in thy left, Avarice, a Pandora's box of deadly poison.

S K E T C H I V.

Origin and Progress of COMMERCE.

THE few wants of men in the first stage of society, are supplied by barter or permutation in its rudest form. In barter, the rational consideration is, what is wanted by the one, and what can be spared by the other. But savages are not always so clear-sighted: a savage who wants a knife will give for it any thing that is less useful to him at present; without considering either the present wants of the person he is dealing with, or his own future wants. An inhabitant of Guiana will for a fish-hook give more at one time, than at another he will give for a hatchet, or for a gun. Kempfer reports, that an inhabitant of Puli Timor, an island adjacent to Malacca, will, for a bit of coarse linen not worth three halfpence, give provisions worth three or four shillings. But people improve by degrees, attending to what is wanted and to what can be spared on both sides; and in that lesson, the American savages in our neighbourhood are not a little expert.

Barter or permutation, in its original form, proved miserably deficient, when men and their wants multiplied. That sort of commerce cannot be carried on at a distance; and even among neighbours, it does not always happen, that the one can spare what the other wants. Barter is somewhat enlarged by covenants: a bushel of wheat is delivered to me, upon my promising an equivalent at
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a future time. But what if I have nothing that my neighbour may have occasion for? or what if my promise be not relied on? Thus barter, even with the aid of covenants, proves still insufficient. The numberless wants of men cannot readily be supplied without some commodity in general estimation, that will be gladly accepted in exchange for every other article of commerce. That commodity ought not to be bulky, nor be expensive in keeping, nor be consumable by time. Gold and silver are metals which possess these properties in an eminent degree. They are at the same time perfectly homogeneous in whatever country produced: two masses of pure gold or of pure silver are always equal in value, provided they be of the same weight. These metals are also divisible into small parts, convenient to be given for goods of small value.

Gold and silver, when first introduced into commerce, were probably bartered, like other commodities, by bulk merely. Rock-salt in Ethiopia, white as snow and hard as stone, is to this day bartered in that manner with other goods. It is dug out of the mountain Lasta, formed into plates of a foot long, and three inches broad and thick; and a portion is broke off equivalent in value to the thing wanted. But more nicety came to be introduced into the commerce of gold and silver: instead of being given loosely by bulk, every portion was weighed in scales: and this method of barter is practised in China, in Ethiopia, and in many other countries. Even weight was at length discovered to be an imperfect standard. Ethiopian salt may be proof against adulteration; but weight is no security against mixing gold and silver with base metals. To prevent that fraud, pieces of gold and silver are impressed with a public stamp, vouching both the purity and quantity; and such pieces are

termed coin. This was a notable improvement in commerce; and, like other improvements, was probably at first thought the utmost stretch of human invention. It was not foreseen, that these metals wear by much handling in the course of circulation; and consequently, that in time the public stamp is reduced to be a voucher of the purity only, not of the quantity. Hence proceed manifold inconveniences; for which no other remedy occurs, but to restore the former method of weighing, trusting to the stamp for the purity only. This proves an embarrassment in commerce; but it will facilitate paper-money, which is free of that embarrassment.

When gold or silver in bullion is exchanged with other commodities, such commerce passes under the common name of barter or permutation: when current coin is exchanged, such commerce is termed buying and selling; and the money exchanged is termed the price of the goods.

As commerce cannot be carried on to any extent without a standard for comparing goods of different kinds, and as every commercial country is possessed of such a standard, it seems difficult to say by what means the standard has been established. It is plainly not founded on nature; for the different kinds of goods have naturally no common measure by which they can be valued: two quarters of wheat can be compared with twenty; but what rule have we to compare wheat with broad cloth, or either of them with gold, or gold even with silver or copper? Several ingenious writers have endeavoured to account for the comparative value of commodities, by reducing them all to the labour employ'd in raising food; which labour is said to be a standard for measuring the value of all other labour, and consequently of all things produced by labour. "If, for example, a bushel of wheat and

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“an ounce of silver be produced by the same quantity of labour, will they not be equal in value?” This standard is imperfect in many respects. I observe, first, that to give it a rational appearance, there is a necessity to maintain, contrary to fact, that all materials on which labour is employ’d are of equal value. It requires as much labour to make a brass candlestick as one of silver, tho’ far from being of the same value. A bushel of wheat may sometimes equal in value an ounce of silver; but an ounce of gold does not always require more labour than a bushel of wheat; and yet they differ widely in value. The value of labour, it is true, enters into the value of every thing produced by it; but is far from making the whole value. If an ounce of silver were of no greater value than the labour of procuring it, that ounce would go for payment of the labour, and nothing be left to the proprietor of the mine: such a doctrine will not relish with the King of Spain; and as little with the Kings of Golconda and Portugal, proprietors of diamond mines. Secondly, The standard under review supposes every sort of labour to be of equal value, which however will not be maintained. An useful art in great request may not be generally known: the few who are skilful may justly demand more for their labour than the common rate. An expert husbandman bestows no more labour in raising an hundred bushels of wheat, than his ignorant neighbour in raising fifty: if labour be the only standard, the two crops ought to afford the same price. Was not Raphael intitled to a higher price for one of his fine tablatures, than a dunce is for a tavern-sign, supposing the labour to have been equal? Lastly, as this standard is applicable to things only that require labour, what rule is to be followed with respect to natural fruits, and other things that require no labour?

Laying aside then this attempt to fix a standard, it occurs to me, that the value of a commodity depends chiefly, tho' not solely, on the demand. Quantity beyond the demand renders even necessities of no value; of which water is an instance. It may be held accordingly as a general rule, That the value of goods in commerce depends on a demand beyond what their quantity can satisfy; and rises in proportion to the excess of the demand above the quantity. Even water becomes valuable in countries where the demand exceeds the quantity: in arid regions, springs of water are highly valued; and in old times were frequently the occasion of broils and bloodshed. Comparing next different commodities with respect to value, that commodity of which the excess of the demand above the quantity is the greater, will be of the greater value. Were utility or intrinsic value only to be considered, a pound of iron would be worth ten pounds of gold; but as the excess of the demand for gold above its quantity is much greater than that of iron, the latter is of less value in the market. A pound of opium or of Jesuit's bark is, for its salutary effects, more valuable than gold; and yet, for the reason given, a pound of gold will purchase many pounds of these drugs. Thus, in general, the excess of the demand above the quantity is the standard that chiefly fixes the mercantile value of commodities*.

* In a voyage to Arabia Felix, ann. 1708, by a French ship, the King of the territory where the crew landed, gave them an ox weighing a thousand or twelve hundred pounds for a fusée, and three score pounds weight of rice for twenty-eight ounces of gun-powder. The goods bartered were estimated according to the wants of each party, or, in other words, according to the demand above the quantity.

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The causes that make a demand, seem not so easily ascertained. One thing is evident, that the demand for necessaries in any country, must depend on the number of its inhabitants. This rule holds not so strictly in articles of convenience; because some people are more greedy of conveniencies than others. As to articles of taste and luxury, the demand appears so arbitrary as scarce to be reducible to any rule. A taste for beauty is general; but so different in different persons, as to make the demand extremely variable: the faint representation of any plant in an agate, is valued by some for its rarity; but the demand is far from being universal. Savages are despised for being fond of glass beads; but were such toys equally rare among us, they would be coveted by many: a copper coin of the Emperor Otho is of no intrinsic value; and yet, for its rarity, would draw a great price.

The value of gold and silver in commerce, like that of other commodities, was at first, we may believe, both arbitrary and fluctuating; and, like other commodities, they found in time their value in the market. With respect to value, however, there is a great difference between money and other commodities. Goods that are expensive in keeping, such as catle, or that are impaired by time, such as corn, will always be first offered in exchange for what is wanted; and when such goods are offered to sale, the vender must be contented with the current price: in making the bargain the purchaser has the advantage; for he suffers not by reserving his money to a better market. And thus commodities are brought down by money to the lowest value that can afford any profit. At the same time, gold and silver sooner find their value than other commodities. The value of the latter is regulated both by the quantity and by the demand; the value of the former is regulated by the quantity only, the demand

being unbounded : and even with respect to quantity, these precious metals are less variable than other commodities.

Gold and silver being thus sooner fixed in their value than other commodities, become a standard for valuing every other commodity, and consequently for comparative values. A bushel of wheat, for example, being valued at five shillings, a yard of broad cloth at fifteen, their comparative values are as one to three.

A standard of values is essential to commerce ; and therefore where gold and silver are unknown, other standards are established by practice. The only standard among the savages of North America is the skin of a beaver. Ten of these are given for a gun, two for a pound of gun-powder, one for four pounds of lead, one for six knives, one for a hatchet, six for a coat of woollen cloth, five for a petticoat, and one for a pound of tobacco. Some nations in Africa employ shells, termed couries, for a standard.

As my chief view in this sketch is, to examine how far industry and commerce are affected by the quantity of circulating coin, I premise, in that view, the following plain propositions : Supposing, first, the quantity of money in circulation, and the quantity of goods in the market, to continue the same, the price will rise and fall with the demand. For when more goods are demanded than the market affords, those who offer the highest price will be preferred : as, on the other hand, when the goods brought to market exceed the demand, the venders have no resource but to entice purchasers by a low price. The price of fish, flesh, butter, and cheese, is much higher than formerly ; for these being now the daily food even of the lowest people, the demand for them is greatly increased.

Supposing

Supposing now a fluctuation in the quantity of goods only, the price falls as the quantity increases, and rises as the quantity decreases. The farmer whose quantity of corn is doubled by a favourable season, must sell at half the usual price; because the purchaser, who sees a superfluity, will pay no more for it. The contrary happens upon a scanty crop: those who want corn must starve, or give the market-price, however high. The manufactures of wool, flax, and metals, are much cheaper than formerly; for tho' the demand has increased, yet by skill and industry the quantities produced have increased in a greater proportion. More potherbs are consumed than formerly; and yet by skilful culture the quantity is so much greater in proportion, as to have lowered the price to less than one half of what it was eighty years ago.

It is easy to combine the quantity and demand, supposing a fluctuation in both. Where the quantity exceeds the usual demand, more people will be tempted to purchase by the low price; and where the demand rises considerably above the quantity, the price will rise in proportion. In mathematical language, these propositions may be thus expressed, that the price is directly as the demand, and inversely as the quantity.

A variation in the quantity of circulating coin is the most intricate circumstance; because it never happens without making a variation in the demand for goods, and frequently in the quantity. I take the liberty however to suppose, that there is no variation but in the quantity of circulating coin; for tho' that cannot happen in reality, yet the result of the supposition will throw light upon what really happens: the subject is involved, and I wish to make it plain. I put a simple case, that the half of our current coin is at once swept away by some extraordinary accident. This at first will embarrass

our internal commerce, as the vender will insist for the usual price, which now cannot be afforded. But the error of such demand will soon be discovered; and the price of commodities, after some fluctuation, will settle at the one half of what it was formerly. At the same time, there is here no downfall in the value of commodities, which cannot happen while the quantity and demand continue unvaried. The purchasing for a sixpence what formerly cost a shilling, makes no alteration in the value of the things purchased; because a sixpence is equal in value to what a shilling was formerly. In a word, when money is scarce, it must bear a high value: it must in particular go far in the purchase of goods; which we express by saying, that goods are cheap. — Put next the case, that by some accident our specie is instantly doubled. Upon supposition that the quantity and demand continue unvaried, the result must be, not instantaneous indeed, to double the price of commodities. Upon the former supposition, a sixpence is in effect advanced to be a shilling: upon the present supposition, a shilling has in effect sunk down to a sixpence. And here again it ought to be observed, that tho' the price is augmented, there is no real alteration in the value of commodities. A bullock that, some years ago, could have been purchased for ten pounds, will at present yield fifteen. The vulgar ignorantly think, that the value of horned cattle has risen in that proportion. The advanced price may, in some degree, be occasioned by a greater consumption; but it is chiefly occasioned by a greater quantity of money in circulation*.

Combining

* It is commonly thought, that the rate of interest depends on the quantity of circulating coin; that interest will be high when money is scarce, and low when money abounds. But whatever be the cause of high or low interest,

Combining all the circumstances, the result is, that if the quantity of goods and of money continue the same, the price will be in proportion to the demand. If the demand and quantity of goods continue the same, the price will be in proportion to the quantity of money. And if the demand and quantity of money continue the same, the price will fall as the quantity increases, and rise as the quantity diminishes.

These speculative notions will, I hope, enable us with accuracy to examine, how industry and commerce are affected by variations in the quantity of circulating coin. It is evident, that arts and manufactures cannot be carried on to any extent, without coin. Hands totally employ'd in any art or manufacture require wages daily or weekly, because they must go to market for every necessary of life. The clothier, the tailor, the shoe-maker, the gardener, the farmer, must employ servants to prepare their goods for the market, to whom, for that reason, wages ought to be regularly paid. In a word, commerce among an endless number of individuals who depend on each other even for necessaries, would be altogether inextricable without a quantity of circulating coin. Money may be justly conceived to be the oil, that lubricates all the springs and wheels of a great machine, and preserves it in mo-

interest, I am certain that the quantity of circulating coin can have no influence. Supposing, as above, the half of our money to be withdrawn, a hundred pounds lent ought still to afford but five pounds as interest; because if the principal be doubled in value, so is also the interest. If, on the other hand, the quantity of our money be doubled, the five pounds of interest will continue to bear the same proportion to the principal as formerly.

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tion *. Supposing us now to be provided with no more of that precious oil than is barely sufficient for the easy motion of our industry and manufactures, a diminution of the necessary quantity must cramp all of them. Our industry and manufactures must decay; and if we do not confine the expence of living to our present circumstances, which seldom happens, the balance of trade with foreign nations will turn against us, and leave us no resource for making the balance equal, but to export our gold and silver. And when we are drained of these metals, farewell to arts and manufactures. We shall be reduced to the condition of savages, which is, that each individual depends entirely on his own labour for procuring every necessary of life. The consequences of a favourable balance are at first directly opposite; but at the long-run come out to be the same: they are sweet in the mouth, but bitter in the stomach. A brisk influx of riches by a favourable balance, rouses our activity. Plenty of money elevates our spirits, and inspires an appetite for pleasure: we indulge a taste for show and embellishment; become hospitable, and refine upon the arts of luxury. Plenty of money is a prevailing motive even with the most sedate, to exert themselves in building, in husbandry, in manufactures, and in other solid improvements. Such articles require both hands and materials, the prices of which are raised by the additional demand. The labourer

* Money cannot be justly said to be deficient where there is sufficiency to purchase every commodity, including labour, that is wanted. Any greater quantity is hurtful to commerce, as will be seen afterward. But to be forc'd to contract debt even when one deals prudently and profitably, and consequently to be subjected to legal execution, is a proof, by no means ambiguous, of scarcity of money; which till of late was remarkably the case in Scotland.

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again whose wages are thus raised, is not now satisfied with mere necessities; but insists for conveniences, the price of which also is raised by the new demand. In short, increase of money raises the price of every commodity; partly from the greater quantity of money, and partly from the additional demand for supplying artificial wants. Hitherto a delightful view of prosperous commerce: but behold the remote consequences. High wages will undoubtedly promote at first the spirit of industry, and double the quantity of labour: but the utmost exertion of labour is limited within certain bounds; and consequently a perpetual influx of gold and silver will not for ever be attended with a proportional quantity of work: The price of labour will rise in proportion to the quantity of money; but the produce will not rise in the same proportion; and for that reason our manufactures will be dearer than formerly. Hence a dismal scene. The high price at home of our manufactures will exclude us from foreign markets; for if the merchant cannot draw there for his goods what he paid at home, with some profit, he must abandon foreign commerce altogether. And what is still more dismal, we shall be deprived even of our own markets; for in spite of the utmost vigilance, foreign commodities, cheaper than our own, will be poured in upon us. The last scene is to be deprived of our gold and silver, and reduced to the same miserable state as if the balance had been against us from the beginning.

However certain it may appear, that an augmentation in the quantity of money must raise the price of labour and of manufactures, yet there is a fact that seems to contradict the proposition, which is, that in no other country are labour and manufactures so cheap as in the two peninsulas on the right and left of the Ganges, tho' in no other country

country is there such plenty of money. To account for this singular fact, political writers say, that money is there amassed by the nabobs, and withdrawn from circulation. This is not satisfactory: the chief exportation from these peninsulas are their manufactures, the price of which comes first to the merchant and manufacturer; and how can that happen without raising the price of labour? Rice, it is true, is the food of their labouring poor; and an acre of rice yields more food than five acres of wheat: but the cheapness of necessaries, tho' it hath a considerable influence in keeping down the price of labour, cannot have an effect so extraordinary as to keep it constantly down, in opposition to an overflowing current of money. The populousness of these two countries is a circumstance that has been totally overlooked. Every traveller is amazed how such swarms of people can find bread, however fertile the soil may be. Let us examine that circumstance. One thing is evident, that were the people fully employed, there would not be a demand for the tenth part of their manufactures. Here then is a country where hand-labour is a drug for want of employment. The people at the same time, sober and industrious, are glad to be employed at any rate; and whatever pittance is gained by labour makes always some addition. Hence it is, that in these peninsulas, superfluity of hands overbalancing both the quantity of money and the demand for their manufactures, serves to keep the price extremely low.

What is now said discovers an error in the proposition above laid down. It holds undoubtedly in Europe, and in every country where there is work for all the people, that an augmentation in the circulating coin raises the price of labour and of manufactures: but such augmentation has no sensible effect in a country where there is a superfluity of hands,

hands, who are always disposed to work when they find employment.

From these premises it will be evident, that unless there be a superfluity of hands, manufactures can never flourish in a country abounding with mines of gold and silver. This in effect is the case of Spain: a constant influx of these metals, raising the price of labour and of manufactures, has deprived the Spaniards of foreign markets, and also of their own: they are reduced to purchase from strangers even the necessaries of life. What a dismal condition will they be reduced to when their mines come to be exhausted!

To illustrate this observation, which indeed is of great importance, I enter more minutely into the condition of Spain. The rough materials of silk, wool, and iron, are produced there more perfect than in any other country; and yet flourishing manufactures of these would be ruinous to it in its present state. Let us only suppose that Spain itself could furnish all the commodities that are demanded in its American territories; what would be the consequence? The gold and silver produced by that trade would center and circulate in Spain: money would become a drug: labour and manufactures would rise to a high price; and every necessary of life, not excepting manufactures of silk, wool, and iron, would be smuggled into Spain, the high price there being sufficient to overbalance every risk: Spain would be left without industry, and without people. Spain was actually in the flourishing state here supposed when America was discovered: its gold and silver mines enflamed the disease; and consequently was the greatest misfortune that ever befel that once potent kingdom. The exportation of our silver coin to the East Indies, so loudly exclaimed against by shallow politicians, is to us, on the contrary, a most substantial

substantial benefit ; it keeps up the value of silver, and consequently lessens the value of labour and of goods, which enables us to maintain our place in foreign markets. Were there no drain for our silver, its quantity in our continent would sink its value so much as to render the American mines unprofitable. Notwithstanding the great flow of money to the East Indies, many mines in the West Indies are given up, because they afford not the expence of working ; and were the value of silver in Europe brought much lower, the whole silver mines in the West Indies would be necessarily abandoned. Thus our East India commerce, which is thought ruinous by many, because it is a drain to much of our silver, is for that very reason profitable to all. The Spaniards profit by importing it into Europe ; and other nations profit, by receiving it for their manufactures.

How ignorantly do people struggle against the necessary connection of causes and effects ! If money do not overflow, a commerce in which the imports exceed in value the exports, will soon drain a nation of its money, and put an end to industry. Commercial nations for that reason struggle hard for a favourable balance of trade ; and they fondly imagine that it cannot be too favourable. If advantageous to them, it must be disadvantageous to those they deal with ; which proves equally ruinous to both. They foresee, indeed, but without concern, immediate ruin to those they deal with ; but they have no inclination to foresee, that ultimately it will prove equally ruinous to themselves. It appears the intention of Providence, that all nations should benefit by commerce as by sunshine ; and it is so ordered, that an unequal balance is prejudicial to the gainers as well as to the losers : the latter are immediate sufferers ; but not less so ultimately are the former. This is one remarkable instance,

stance, among many, of providential wisdom in conducting human affairs, independent of the will of man, and frequently against his will. An ambitious nation, placed advantageously for trade, would willingly engross all to themselves, and reduce their neighbours to be hewers of wood and drawers of water. But an invincible bar is opposed to such avarice, making an overgrown commerce the means of its own destruction. The commercial balance held by the hand of Providence, is never permitted to preponderate much to one side; and every nation partakes, or may partake, of all the comforts of life. Engrossing is bad policy; and men are prompted, both by interest and duty, to second the plan of Providence, and to preserve, as near as possible, equality in the balance of trade.

Upon these principles, a wise people, having acquired a stock of money sufficient for an extensive commerce, will tremble at a balance too advantageous: they will rest satisfied with an equal balance, which is the golden mean. A disadvantageous balance may always be prevented by industry and frugality: but by what means is a balance too favourable to be guarded against? With respect to that question, it is not the quantity singly of gold and silver in a country that raises the price of labour and of manufactures, but the quantity in circulation; and may not the circulating quantity be regulated by the state, permitting no coinage but what is beneficial to its manufactures? Let the registers of foreign mints be carefully watched, in order that our current coin may not exceed that of our industrious neighbours. There will always be a demand for the surplus of our bullion, either to be exported as a commodity, or to be purchased at home for plate; which cannot be too much encouraged, being ready at every crisis

crisis to be coined for public service. The senate of Genoa has wisely burdened porcelain with a heavy tax, being a foreign luxury ; but it has not less wisely left gold and silver plate free ; whilst we most unwisely have loaded it with a duty.

The accumulating of money in a public treasury, anciently the practice of every prudent monarch, prevents superfluity. Lies there any good objection against that practice, in a trading nation, where gold and silver flow in with impetuosity ? A great sum locked up by a frugal king, Henry VII. of England for example, lessens the quantity of money in circulation : profusion in a successor, which was the case of Henry VIII. is a spur to industry, similar to the influx of gold and silver from the new world. The canton of Bern, by locking up money in its treasury, possesses the miraculous art of reconciling immense wealth with frugality and cheap labour. A climate not kindly, and a soil not naturally fertile, enured the inhabitants to temperance and to virtue. Patriotism is their ruling passion : they consider themselves as children of the republic ; are fond of serving their mother ; and hold themselves sufficiently recompensed by the privilege of serving her ; by which means the public revenue greatly exceeds the expence of government. They carefully lock up the surplus for purchasing land when a proper opportunity offers ; which is a shining proof of their disinterestedness as well as of their wisdom. By that politic measure, much more than by war, the canton of Bern, from a very slender origin, is now far superior to any of the other cantons in extent of territory. But in what other part of the globe are there to be found ministers of state, moderate and disinterested like the citizens of Bern ! In the hands of a rapacious ministry, the greatest treasure would not be long-lived : under the management

nagement of a British ministry, it would vanish in the twinkling of an eye; and do more mischief by augmenting our money in circulation above what is salutary, than formerly it did good by confining it within moderate bounds. But against such a measure there lies an objection still more weighty than its being an ineffectual remedy: in the hands of an ambitious prince it would prove dangerous to liberty.

If the foregoing measures be not relished, I can discover no other means for preserving our station in foreign markets, but a bounty on exportation. The sum would be great: but the preserving our industry and manufactures, and the preventing an influx of foreign manufactures, are conspicuous advantages that cannot be purchased too dear. At the same time, a bounty on exportation would not be an insupportable load: on the contrary, superfluity of wealth, procured by a balance constantly favourable, would make the load abundantly easy. A proper bounty would balance the growing price of labour and materials at home, and keep open the foreign market. By neglecting that salutary measure, the Dutch have lost all their manufactures, a neglect that has greatly benefited both England and France. The Dutch indeed act prudently in with-holding that benefit as much as possible from their powerful neighbours: to prevent purchasing from them, they consume the manufactures of India.

The manufactures of Spain, once extensive, have been extirpated, partly by their mines of gold and silver. Authors ascribe to the same cause the decline of their agriculture; but erroneously: on the contrary, superfluity of gold and silver is favourable to agriculture, by raising the price of its productions. It raises also, it is true, the price of labour; but that additional expence is far from
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balancing the profit made by high prices of whatever is raised out of the ground. Too much wealth indeed is apt to make the farmer press into a higher rank: but it is the landlord's fault if that evil be not prevented by a proper heightening of the rent, which will always confine the farmer within his own sphere.

As gold and silver are essential to commerce, foreign and domestic, several commercial nations, fond of these precious metals, have endeavoured most absurdly to bar the exportation by penal laws; forgetting that gold and silver will never be exported while the balance of trade is in their favour, and that they must necessarily be exported when the balance is against them. Neither do they consider, that if a people continue industrious, they cannot be long afflicted with an unfavourable balance; for the value of money, rising in proportion to its scarcity, will lower the price of their manufactures, and promote exportation: the balance will turn in their favour; and money will flow in, till by plenty its value be reduced to a par with that of neighbouring nations.

It is an important question, Whether a bank be upon the whole beneficial or hurtful to commerce. It is undoubtedly a spur to industry, like a new influx of money: but then, like such influx, it raises the price of labour and of manufactures. Weighing these two facts in a just balance, the result seems to be, that in a country where money is scarce, a bank properly constituted is a great blessing, as it in effect multiplies the specie, and promotes industry and manufactures; but that in a country which possesses money sufficient for an extensive trade, the only bank that will not hurt foreign commerce, is that which is erected for supplying the merchant with ready money by discounting bills. At the same time, much caution
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and circumspection is necessary with respect to banks of both kinds. A bank erected for discounting bills, ought to be confined to bills really granted in the course of commerce; and ought to avoid, as much as possible, the being imposed on by fictitious bills drawn merely in order to procure a loan of money. And with respect to a bank purposely erected for lending money, there is great danger of extending credit too far, not only with respect to the bank itself and to its numerous debtors, but with respect to the country in general, by raising the price of labour and of manufactures, which is the never-failing result of too great plenty of money, whether coin or paper.

The different effects of plenty and scarcity of money, have not escaped that penetrating genius, the sovereign of Prussia. Money is not so plentiful in his dominions as to make it necessary to withdraw a quantity, by heaping up treasure. He indeed always retains in his treasury six or seven millions Sterling for answering unforeseen demands: but being sensible that the withdrawing from circulation any larger sum, would be prejudicial to commerce, every farthing saved from the necessary expence of government, is laid out upon buildings, upon operas, upon any thing, rather than cramp circulation. In that kingdom, a bank established for lending money would promote industry and manufactures.

SKETCH

S K E T C H V.

Origin and Progress of ARTS.

SECTION I.

USEFUL ARTS.

SOME useful arts must be nearly coeval with the human race; for food, cloathing, and habitation, even in their original simplicity, require some art. Many other arts are of such antiquity as to place the inventors beyond the reach of tradition. Several have gradually crept into existence, without an inventor. The busy mind, however, accustomed to a beginning in things, cannot rest till it finds or imagines a beginning to every art. Bacchus is said to have invented wine; and Staphylus, the mixing water with wine. The bow and arrow are ascribed by tradition to Scythos, son of Jupiter, tho' a weapon all the world over. Spinning is so useful, that it must be honoured with some illustrious inventor: it was ascribed by the Egyptians to their goddess Isis; by the Greeks to Minerva; by the Peruvians to Mama Ella, wife to their first sovereign Mango Capac; and by the Chinese to the wife of their Emperor Yao. Mark here by the way, a connection of ideas: spinning is a female occupation, and it must have had a female inventor*.

* The Illinois are industrious above all their American neighbours. Their women are neat-handed: they spin the wool of their horned cattle, which is as fine as that of the English sheep. The stuffs made of it are

In the hunter-state, men are wholly occupied in procuring food, cloathing, habitation, and other necessaries; and have no time nor zeal for studying conveniencies. The ease of the shepherd-state affords both time and inclination for useful arts; which are greatly promoted by numbers who are relieved by agriculture from bodily labour: the soil, by gradual improvements in husbandry, affords plenty, with less labour than at first; and the surplus hands are employed, first, in useful arts, and, next, in those of amusement. Arts accordingly make the quickest progress in a fertile soil, which produces plenty with little labour. Arts flourished early in Egypt and Chaldea, countries extremely fertile.

When men, who originally lived in caves like some wild animals, began to think of a more commodious habitation, their first houses were extremely simple; witness the houses of the Canadian savages, which continue so to this day. Their houses, says Charlevoix, are built with less art, neatness, and solidity, than those of the beavers; having neither chimnies nor windows: a hole only is left in the roof, for admitting light, and emitting smoke. That hole must be stopped when it rains or snows; and of course the fire must be put out, that the inhabitants may not be blinded with smoke. To have passed so many ages in that manner, without thinking of any improvement, shows how greatly men are influenced by custom. The blacks of Jamaica are still more rude in their buildings: their huts are erected without even a hole in

died black, yellow, or red, and cut into garments sewed with roe-buck sinews. After drying these sinews in the sun, and beating them, they draw out threads as white and fine as any that are made of flax, but much tougher.

the

the roof; and accordingly at home they breathe nothing but smoke.

Revenge early produced hostile weapons. The club and the dart are obvious inventions: not so the bow and arrow; and for that reason it is not easy to say how that weapon came to be universal. As iron is seldom found in a mine like other metals, it was a late discovery: at the siege of Troy, spears, darts, and arrows, were headed with brass. Menestheus, who succeeded Theseus in the kingdom of Athens, and led fifty ships to the siege of Troy, was reputed the first who marshalled an army in battle-array. Instruments of defence are made necessary by those of offence. Trunks of trees, interlaced with branches, and supported with earth, made the first fortifications; to which succeeded a wall finished with a parapet for shooting arrows at besiegers. As a parapet covers but half of the body, holes were left in the wall from space to space, no larger than to give passage to an arrow. Besiegers had no remedy but to beat down the wall: a battering-ram was first used by Pericles the Athenian, and perfected by the Carthaginians at the siege of Gades. To oppose that formidable machine, the wall was built with advanced parapets for throwing stones and fire upon the enemy, which kept him at a distance. A wooden booth upon wheels, and pushed close to the wall, secured the men who wrought the battering-ram. This invention was rendered ineffectual, by surrounding the wall with a deep and broad ditch. Besiegers were reduced to the necessity of inventing engines for throwing stones and javelins upon those who occupied the advanced parapets, in order to give opportunity for filling up the ditch; and ancient histories expatiate upon the powerful operation of the catapulta and balista. These engines suggested a new invention for defence: instead of a circular

circular wall, it was built with salient angles, like the teeth of a saw, in order that one part might flank another. That form of a wall was afterward improved, by raising round towers upon the salient angles; and the towers were improved by making them square. The ancients had no occasion for any form more complete, being sufficient for defending against all the missile weapons at that time known. The invention of cannon required a variation in military architecture. The first cannons were made of iron bars, forming a concave cylinder, united by rings of copper. The first cannon-balls were of stone, which required a very large aperture. A cannon was reduced to a smaller size, by using iron for balls instead of stone; and that destructive engine was perfected by making it of cast metal. To resist its force, bastions were invented, horn-works, crown-works, half-moons, &c. &c.; and military architecture became a system, governed by fundamental principles and general rules. But all in vain: it has indeed produced fortifications that have made sieges horridly bloody; but artillery at the same time has been carried to such perfection, and the art of attack so improved, that, according to the general opinion, no fortification can be rendered impregnable. The only impregnable defence is, good neighbourhood among weak princes, ready to unite whenever one of them is attacked with superior force. And nothing tends more effectually to promote such union, than constant experience that fortifications ought not to be relied on.

With respect to naval architecture, the first vessels were beams joined together, and covered with planks, pushed along with long poles in shallow water, and drawn by animals in deep water. To these succeeded trunks of trees cut hollow, termed by the Greeks **MONOXYLES**. The next we e

planks joined together in form of a monoxyle. The thought of imitating a fish advanced naval architecture. A prow was constructed in imitation of the head, a stern with a moveable helm, in imitation of the tail, and oars in imitation of the fins. Sails were at last added; which invention was so early, that the contriver is unknown. Before the year 1545, ships of war in England had no port-holes for guns, as at present: they had only a few cannon placed on the upper deck.

When Homer composed his poems, at least during the Trojan war, the Greeks had not acquired the art of gelding cattle; they ate the flesh of bulls and of rams. Kings and princes killed and cooked their victuals: spoons, forks, tablecloths, napkins, were unknown. They fed sitting, the custom of reclining upon beds being afterward copied from Asia; and, like other savages, they were great eaters. At the time mentioned, they had not chimnies, nor candles, nor lamps. Torches are frequently mentioned by Homer, but lamps never: a vase was placed upon a tripod, in which was burnt dry wood for giving light. Locks and keys were not common at that time. Bundles were secured with ropes intricately combined (*a*); and hence the famous Gordian knot. Shoes and stockings were not early known among them, nor buttons, nor saddles, nor stirrups. Plutarch reports, that Gracchus caused stones to be erected along the high-ways leading from Rome, for the convenience of mounting a horse; for at that time stirrups were unknown, though an obvious invention. Linnen for shirts was not used in Rome for many years after the government became despotic. Even so late as the eighth century, it was not common in Europe.

(*a*) *Odyssæy*, b. 8. l. 483. Pope's translation.

Thales, one of the seven wise men of Greece, about six hundred years before Christ, invented the following method for measuring the height of an Egyptian pyramid. He watched the progress of the sun, till his body and the shadow were of the same length; and at that instant measured the shadow of the pyramid, which consequently gave its height. Amasis, king of Egypt, present at the operation, thought it a wonderful effort of genius; and the Greeks admired it highly. Geometry must have been in its very cradle at that time. Anaximander, some ages before Christ, made the first map of the earth, so far as then known. About the end of the thirteenth century, spectacles for assisting the sight were invented by Alexander Spina, a monk of Pisa. So useful an invention cannot be too much extolled. At a period of life when the judgement is in maturity, and reading is of great benefit, the eyes begin to grow dim. One cannot help pitying the condition of bookish men before that invention; many of whom must have had their sight greatly impaired, while their appetite for reading was in vigour.

As the origin and progress of writing make a capital article in the present sketch, they must not be overlooked. To write, or, in other words, to exhibit thoughts to the eye, was early attempted in Egypt by hieroglyphics. But these were not confined to Egypt: figures, composed of painted feathers, were used in Mexico to express ideas; and by such figures Montezuma received intelligence of the Spanish invasion: in Peru, the only arithmetical figures known were knots of various colours, which served to cast up accounts. The second step naturally in the art of writing, is, to represent each word by a mark, termed a letter, which is the Chinese way of writing: they have about 11,000 of these marks or letters in common

use; and in matters of science, they employ to the number of 60,000. Our way is far more easy and commodious: instead of marks or letters for words, which are infinite, we represent by marks or letters, the articulate sounds that compose words: these sounds exceed not thirty in number; and consequently the same number of marks or letters are sufficient for writing. This was at once to step from hieroglyphics, the most imperfect mode of writing, to letters representing sounds, the most perfect; for there is no probability that the Chinese mode was ever practised in this part of the world. With us, the learning to read is so easy as to be acquired in childhood; and we are ready for the sciences as soon as the mind is ripe for them: the Chinese mode, on the contrary, is an unsurmountable obstruction to knowledge; because it being the work of a life-time to read with ease, no time remains for studying the sciences. Our case was in some measure the same at the restoration of learning: it required an age to be familiarized with the Greek and Latin tongues; and too little time remained for gathering knowledge out of their books. The Chinese stand upon a more equal footing with respect to arts; for these may be acquired by imitation or oral instruction, without books.

The art of writing with letters representing sounds, is, of all inventions, the most important, and the least obvious. The way of writing in China makes so naturally the second step in the progress of the art, that our good fortune in stumbling upon a way so much more perfect cannot be sufficiently admired, when to it we are indebted for our superiority in literature above the Chinese. Their way of writing is a fatal obstruction to science; for it is so rivetted by inveterate practice, that the difficulty would not be greater to make them change their language, than their letters. Hieroglyphics

glyphics were a sort of writing, so miserably imperfect, as to make every improvement welcome; but as the Chinese make a tolerable shift with their own letters, however cumbersome to those who know better, they never dream of any improvement. Hence it may be averred, with great certainty, that in China, the sciences, though still in infancy, will for ever continue so.

The art of writing was known in Greece when Homer composed his two epics; for he gives somewhere a hint of it. It was at that time probably in its infancy, and used only for recording laws, religious precepts, or other short works. Cyphers, invented in Hindostan, were brought into France from Arabia, about the end of the tenth century.

Husbandry made a progress from Egypt to Greece, and from Afric to Italy. Mago, a Carthaginian general, composed twenty-eight books upon husbandry, which were translated into Latin by order of the Roman senate. From these fine and fertile countries, it made its way to colder and less kindly climates. According to that progress, agriculture must have been practised more early in France than in Britain; and yet the English at present make a greater figure in that art than the French, inferiority in soil and climate notwithstanding. Before husbandry became an art in the northern parts of Europe, the French noblesse had deserted the country, fond of society in a town-life. Landed gentlemen in England, more rough, and delighting more in hunting and other country amusements, found leisure to practise agriculture. Skill in that art proceeded from them to their tenants, who now prosecute husbandry with success, though their landlords have generally betaken themselves to a town-life.

When Cæsar invaded Britain, agriculture was unknown in the inner parts: the inhabitants fed

upon milk and flesh, and were cloathed with skins. Hollinshed, cotemporary with Elizabeth of England, describes the rudeness of the preceeding generation in the arts of life: "There were very few chimnies, even in capital towns: the fire was laid to the wall, and the smoke issued out at the roof, or door, or window. The houses were wattled and plaistered over with clay; and all the furniture and utensils were of wood. The people slept on straw-pallets, with a log of wood for a pillow." Henry II. of France, at the marriage of the Duchesse of Savoy, wore the first silk stockings that were made in France. Queen Elizabeth, the third year of her reign, received in a present a pair of black silk knit stockings; and Dr. Howel reports, that she never wore cloth hose any more. Before the conquest there was a timber bridge upon the Thames between London and Southwark, which was repaired by King William Rufus, and was burnt by accident in the reign of Henry II. ann. 1176. At that time a stone bridge in place of it was projected; but it was not finished till the year 1212. The bridge Notre-Dame over the Seine in Paris was first of Wood. It fell down anno 1499; and as there was not in France a man who would undertake to rebuild it of stone, an Italian cordelier was employed, whose name was Joconde, the same upon whom Sanazarius made the following pun:

*Jocondus geminum imposuit tibi, Sequana, pontem;
Hunc tu jure potes dicere pontificem.*

The art of making glass was imported from France into England, ann. 674, for the use of monasteries. Glass windows in private houses were rare, even in the twelfth century, and held to be great luxury. King Edward III. invited three clockmakers of Delft

Delft in Holland to settle in England. In the former part of the reign of Henry VIII. there did not grow in England cabbage, carrot, turnip, or other edible root; and it has been noted, that even Queen Catharine herself could not command a salad for dinner, till the King brought over a gardener from the Netherlands. About the same time, the artichoke, the apricot, the damask rose, made their first appearance in England. Turkeys, carps, and hops, were first known there in the year 1524. The currant-shrub was brought from the island of Zant, ann. 1533, and in the year 1540, cherry-trees from Flanders were first planted in Kent. It was in the year 1563 that knives were first made in England. Pocket-watches were brought there from Germany, ann. 1577. About the year 1580, coaches were introduced; before which time Queen Elizabeth, on public occasions, rode behind her chamberlain. A saw-mill was erected near London, ann. 1633, but afterwards demolished, that it might not deprive the labouring poor of employment. How crude was the science of politics, even in that late age!

People who are ignorant of weights and measures fall upon odd shifts to supply the defect. Howel Dha Prince of Wales, who died in the year 948, was their capital lawgiver. One of his laws is, "If any one kill or steal the cat that guards the Prince's granary, he forfeits a milch ewe with her lamb; or as much wheat as will cover the cat, when suspended by the tail, the head touching the ground." By the same lawgiver, a fine of twelve cows is enacted for a rape committed upon a maid, eighteen for a rape upon a matron. If the fact be proved after being denied, the criminal for his falsity pays as many shillings as will cover the woman's posteriors.

The negroes of the kingdom of Ardrah in Guinea have made great advances in arts. Their towns, for the most part, are fortified, and connected by great roads, kept in good repair. Deep canals from river to river are commonly filled with canoes, for pleasure some, and many for business. The vallies are pleasant, producing wheat, millet, yams, potatoes, lemons, oranges, cocoa-nuts, and dates. The marshy grounds near the sea are drained; and salt is made by evaporating the stagnating water. Salt is carried to the inland countries by the great canal of Ba, where numberless canoes are daily seen going with salt, and returning with gold dust or other commodities.

In all countries where the people are barbarous and illiterate, the progress of arts is wofully slow. It is vouched by an old French poem, that the virtues of the loadstone were known in France before ann. 1180. The mariner's compass was exhibited at Venice ann. 1260 by Paulus Venetus, as his own invention. John Gbaya of Amalphi was the first who, many years afterward, used it in navigation; and also passed for being the inventor. Tho' it was used in China for navigation long before it was known in Europe, yet to this day it is not so perfect as in Europe. Instead of suspending it in order to make it act freely, it is placed upon a bed of sand, by which every motion of the ship disturbs its operation. Hand-mills, termed querns, were early used for grinding corn; and when corn came to be raised in greater quantity, horse-mills succeeded. Water-mills for grinding corn are described by Vitruvius (*b*). Wind-mills were known in Greece and in Arabia as early as the seventh century; and yet no mention is made of them in Italy till the fourteenth century. That they were not known in

England in the reign of Henry VIII. appears from a household book of an Earl of Northumberland, cotemporary with that King, stating an allowance for three mill-horses, "two to draw in the mill, " and one to carry stuff to the mill and fro." Water-mills for corn must in England have been of a later date. The ancients had mirror-glasses, and employ'd glass to imitate crystal vases and goblets: yet they never thought of using it in windows. In the thirteenth century, the Venetians were the only people who had the art of making crystal glass for mirrors. A clock that strikes the hours was unknown in Europe till the end of the twelfth century. And hence the custom of employing men to proclaim the hours during night; which to this day continues in Germany, Flanders, and England. Galileo was the first who conceived an idea that a pendulum might be useful for measuring time; and Hughsen was the first who put the idea in execution, by making a pendulum clock. Hook, in the year 1660, invented a spiral spring for a watch, tho' a watch was far from being a new invention. Paper was made no earlier than the fourteenth century; and the invention of printing was a century later. Silk manufactures were long established in Greece before silk-worms were introduced there. The manufacturers were provided with raw silk from Persia: but that commerce being frequently interrupted by war, two monks, in the reign of Justinian, brought eggs of the silk-worm from Hindostan, and taught their countrymen the method of managing them. The art of reading made a very slow progress. To encourage that art in England, the capital punishment for murder was remitted if the criminal could but read, which in law-language is termed benefit of clergy. One would imagine that the art must have made a very rapid progress when so greatly favoured:

but there is a signal proof of the contrary; for so small an edition of the Bible as six hundred copies, translated into English in the reign of Henry VIII. was not wholly sold off in three years. The people of England must have been profoundly ignorant in Queen Elizabeth's time, when a forged clause added to the twentieth article of the English creed passed unnoticed till about forty years ago*.

The discoveries of the Portuguese in the west coast of Africa, is a remarkable instance of the slow progress of arts. In the beginning of the fifteenth century, they were totally ignorant of that coast beyond Cape Non, 28 deg. north latitude. In 1410 the celebrated Prince Henry of Portugal fitted out a fleet for discoveries, which proceeded along the coast to Cape Bojadore in 26 deg.; but had not courage to double it. In 1418 Trifan Vaz discovered the island Porto Santo; and the year after the island Madeira was discovered. In 1439 a Portuguese captain doubled Cape Bojadore; and the next year the Portuguese reached Cape

* In the act 13th Elizabeth anno 1571, confirming the thirty-nine articles of the church of England, these articles are not engrossed, but referred to as comprised in a printed book, intituled, Articles agreed to by the whole clergy in the convocation holden at London 1562. The forged clause is, "The church has power to decree rites and ceremonies, and authority in controversies of faith." In the articles referred to, that clause is not to be found, nor the slightest hint of any authority with respect to matters of faith. In the same year 1571, the articles were printed both in Latin and English, precisely as in the year 1562. But soon after came out spurious editions, in which the said clause was joisted into the twentieth article, and continues so to this day. A forgery so impudent would not pass at present; and its success shows great ignorance in the people of England at that period.

Blanco,

Blanco, lat. 20 deg. In 1446 Nuna Tristan doubled Cape Verd, lat. $14^{\circ} 40'$. In 1448 Don Gonzallo Vallo took possession of the Azores. In 1449 the islands of Cape Verd were discovered for Don Henry. In 1471 Pedro d'Escovar discovered the island St. Thomas and Prince's island. In 1484 Diego Cam discovered the kingdom of Congo. In 1486 Bartholomew Diaz, employ'd by John II, of Portugal, doubled the Cape of Good Hope, which he called Cabo Tormentoso, from the tempestuous weather he found in the passage.

The exertion of national spirit upon any particular art, promotes activity to prosecute other arts. The Romans, by constant study, came to excel in the art of war, which led them naturally to improve upon other arts. Having, in the progress of society, acquired some degree of taste and polish, a talent for writing broke forth. Nevius composed in verse seven books of the Punic war; beside comedies, replete with bitter raillery against the nobility (c). Ennius wrote annals, and an epic poem (d). Lucius Andronicus was the father of dramatic poetry in Rome (e). Pacuvius wrote tragedies (f). Plautus and Terence wrote comedies. Lucilius composed satires, which Cicero esteems to be slight, and void of erudition (g). Fabius Pictor, Cincius Alimentus, Piso Frugi, Valerius Antias, and Cato, were rather annalists than historians, confining themselves to naked facts, ranged in order of time. The genius of the Romans for the fine arts was much inflamed by Greek learning, when free intercourse between the two nations was opened. Many

(c) Titus Livius, lib. 7. c. 2.

(d) Quintilian, lib. 10. c. 17.

(e) Cicero de oratore, lib. 2. No. 72.

(f) Ibid. lib. 2. No. 193.

(g) De finibus, lib. 1. No. 7.

of those who made the greatest figure in the Roman state, commenced authors, Cæsar, Cicero, &c. Sylla composed memoirs of his own transactions, a work much esteemed even in the days of Plutarch.

The progress of art seldom fails to be rapid, when a people happen to be roused out of a torpid state by some fortunate change of circumstances: prosperity contrasted with former abasement, gives to the mind a spring, which is vigorously exerted in every new pursuit. The Athenians made but a mean figure under the tyranny of Pisistratus; but upon regaining freedom and independence, they were converted into heroes. Miletus, a Greek city of Ionia, being destroy'd by the King of Persia, and the inhabitants made slaves; the Athenians, deeply affected with the misery of their brethren, boldly attacked that king in his own dominions, and burnt the city of Sardis. In less than ten years after, they gained a signal victory at Marathon; and under Themistocles, made head against that prodigious army with which Xerxes threatened utter ruin to Greece. Such prosperity produced its usual effect: arts flourished with arms, and Athens became the chief theatre for sciences as well as for fine arts. The reign of Augustus Cæsar, which put an end to the rancour of civil war, and restored peace to Rome with the comforts of society, proved an auspicious æra for literature; and produced a cloud of Latin historians, poets, and philosophers, to whom the moderns are indebted for their taste and talents. One who makes a figure rouses emulation in all: one catches fire from another, and the national spirit is every where triumphant: classical works are composed, and useful discoveries made in every art and science. This fairly accounts for the following observation of Velleius Paterculus (b), that

(b) *Historia Romana*, lib. 1. in fine.

eminent men generally appear in the same period of time. "One age," says he, "produced Eschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides, who advanced tragedy to a great height. In another age the old comedy flourished under Eupolis, Cratinus, and Aristophanes; and the new was invented by Menander, and his cotemporaries Diphilus and Philemon, whose compositions are so perfect that they left to posterity no hope of rivalry. The philosophic sages of the Socratic school appeared all about the time of Plato and Aristotle. And as to rhetoric, few excelled in that art before Isocrates, and as few after the second descent of his scholars." The historian applies the same observation to the Romans, and extends it even to grammarians, painters, statuaries, and sculptors. With regard to Rome, it is true, that the Roman government under Augustus was in effect despotic: but despotism, in that single instance, made no obstruction to literature, it having been the politic of that reign to hide power as much as possible. A similar revolution happened in Tuscany about three centuries ago. That country having been divided into a number of small republics, the people, excited by mutual hatred between small nations in close neighbourhood, became ferocious and bloody, flaming with revenge for the slightest offence. These republics being united under the Great Duke of Tuscany, enjoy'd the sweets of peace in a mild government. That comfortable revolution, which made the deeper impression by a retrospect to recent calamities, roused the national spirit, and produced ardent application to arts and literature. The restoration of the royal family in England, which put an end to a cruel and envenomed civil war, promoted improvements of every kind: arts and industry made a rapid progress among the people, tho' left to themselves by a weak and fluctuating administration.

tion. Had the nation, upon that favourable turn of fortune, been blessed with a succession of able and virtuous princes, to what a height might not arts and sciences have been carried! In Scotland, a favourable period for improvements was the reign of the first Robert, after shaking off the English yoke: but the domineering spirit of the feudal system rendered abortive every attempt. The restoration of the royal family, mentioned above, animated the legislature of Scotland to promote manufactures of various kinds: but in vain; for the union of the two crowns had introduced despotism into Scotland, which sunk the genius of the people, and rendered them heartless and indolent. Liberty, indeed, and many other advantages, were procured to them by the union of the two kingdoms; but these salutary effects were long suspended by mutual enmity, such as commonly subsists between neighbouring nations. Enmity wore out gradually, and the eyes of the Scots were opened to the advantages of their present condition: the national spirit was roused to emulate and to excel: talents were exerted, hitherto latent; and Scotland at present makes a figure in arts and sciences, above what it ever made while an independent kingdom*.

Another cause of activity and animation, is the being engaged in some important action of doubtful

* In Scotland, an innocent bankrupt imprisoned for debt, obtains liberty by a process termed *Cessio bonorum*. From the year 1694 to 1744 there were but twenty-four processes of that kind; which shows how languidly trade was carried on while the people remained still ignorant of their advantages by the union. From that time to the year 1771 there have been thrice that number every year, taking one year with another; an evident proof of the late rapid progress of commerce in Scotland. Every one is roused to venture his small stock, tho' every one cannot be successful.

event,

event, a struggle for liberty, the resisting a potent invader, or the like. Greece, divided into small states frequently at war with each other, advanced literature and the fine arts to unrivalled perfection. The Corsicans, while engaged in a perilous war for defence of their liberties, exerted a vigorous national spirit: they founded an university for arts and sciences, a public library, and a public bank. After a long stupor during the dark ages of Christianity, arts and literature revived among the turbulent states of Italy. The royal society in London, and the academy of sciences in Paris, were both of them instituted after civil wars that had animated the people, and roused their activity.

An useful art is seldom lost, because it is in constant practice. And yet, tho' many useful arts were in perfection during the reign of Augustus Cæsar, it is amazing how ignorant and stupid men became, after the Roman empire was shattered by northern barbarians: they degenerated into savages. So ignorant were the Spanish Christians during the eighth and ninth centuries, that Alphonfus the Great, King of Leon, was reduced to the necessity of employing Mahometan preceptors for educating his eldest son. Even Charlemagne could not sign his name: nor was he singular in that respect, being kept in countenance by several neighbouring princes.

As the progress of arts and sciences toward perfection is greatly promoted by emulation, nothing is more fatal to an art or science than to remove that spur, as where some extraordinary genius appears who soars above rivalry. Mathematics seem to be declining in Britain; the great Newton, having surpassed all the ancients, has not left to the moderns even the faintest hope of equalling him; and what man will enter the lists who despairs of victory?

In

In early times, the inventors of useful arts were remembered with fervent gratitude. Their history became fabulous by the many incredible exploits that were attributed to them. Diodorus Siculus mentions the Egyptian tradition of Osiris, that with a numerous army he traversed every inhabited part of the globe, in order to teach men the culture of wheat and of the vine. Beside the impracticability of supporting a numerous army where husbandry is unknown, no army could enable Osiris to introduce wheat or wine among stupid savages who live by hunting and fishing, which probably was the case, in that early period, of all the nations he visited.

In a country thinly peopled, where even necessary arts want hands, it is common to see one person exercising more arts than one : in several parts of Scotland, one man serves as a physician, surgeon, and apothecary. In a very populous country, even simple arts are split into parts, and each part has an artist appropriated to it. In the large towns of ancient Egypt, a physician was confined to a single disease. In mechanic arts that method is excellent. As a hand confined to a single operation becomes both expert and expeditious, a mechanic art is perfected by having its different operations distributed among the greatest number of hands : many hands are employ'd in making a watch ; and a still greater number in manufacturing a web of woollen cloth. Various arts or operations carried on by the same man, enervate his mind, because they exercise different faculties ; and as he cannot be equally expert in every art or operation, he is frequently reduced to supply want of skill by thought and invention. Constant application, on the contrary, to a single operation, confines the mind to a single object, and excludes all thought and invention : in such a train of life, the operator becomes dull and stupid, like a beast of burden. The difference is
visible

visible in the manners of the people : in a country where, from want of hands, several occupations must be carried on by the same person, the people are knowing and conversable : in a populous country where manufactures flourish, they are ignorant and unsociable. The same effect is equally visible in countries where an art or manufacture is confined to a certain class of men. It is visible in Hindostan, where the people are divided into casts, which never mix even by marriage, and where every man follows his father's trade. The Dutch lint-boors are a similar instance : the same families carry on the trade from generation to generation ; and are accordingly ignorant and brutish even beyond other Dutch peasants. The inhabitants of Buckhaven, a seaport in the county of Fife, were originally a colony of foreigners, invited hither to teach our people the art of fishing. They continue fishers to this day, marry among themselves, have little intercourse with their neighbours, and are dull and stupid to a proverb.

S E C T. II.

Progress of TASTE and of the FINE ARTS.

THE sense by which we perceive right and wrong in actions, is termed the moral sense: the sense by which we perceive beauty and deformity in objects, is termed taste. Perfection in the moral sense consists in perceiving the minutest differences of right and wrong: perfection in taste consists in perceiving the minutest differences of beauty and deformity; and such perfection is termed delicacy of taste (*a*).

The moral sense is born with us; and so is taste: yet both of them require much cultivation. Among savages, the moral sense is faint and obscure; and taste still more so*. Even in the most enlightened ages, it requires in a judge both education and experience to perceive accurately the various modifications of right and wrong: and to acquire delicacy of taste, a man must grow old in examining beauties and deformities. In Rome, abounding with productions of the fine arts, an illiterate shopkeeper is a more correct judge of statues, of pictures, and of buildings, than the best-educated citizen of London (*b*). Thus taste goes hand in hand with the moral sense in their progress toward maturity, and they ripen equally by the same sort of culture. Want, a barren soil, cramps the growth of both:

* Some Iroquois, after seeing all the beauties of Paris, admired nothing but the street De la Houchette, where they found a constant supply of eatables.

(*a*) Elements of Criticism, vol. 1. p. 111. edit. 4.

(*b*) Ibid. chap. 25.

sensuality,

sensuality, a soil too fat, corrupts both: the middle state, equally distant from dispiriting poverty and luxurious sensuality, is the soil in which both of them flourish.

As the fine arts are intimately connected with taste, it is impracticable, in tracing their progress, to separate them by accurate limits. I join, therefore, the progress of the fine arts to that of taste, where the former depends entirely on the latter; and I handle separately the progress of the fine arts, where that progress is influenced by other circumstances beside taste.

During the infancy of taste, imagination is suffered to roam, as in sleep without control. Wonder is the passion of savages and of rustics; to raise which, nothing is necessary but to invent giants and magicians, fairy-land and enchantment. The earliest exploits recorded of warlike nations, are giants mowing down whole armies, and little men overcoming giants; witness Joannes Magnus, Torfeus, and other Scandinavian writers. Hence the absurd romances that delighted the world for ages; which are now fallen into contempt every where. Madame de la Fayette led the way to novels in the present mode. She was the first who introduced sentiments instead of wonderful adventures, and amiable men instead of bloody heroes. In substituting distresses to prodigies, she made a discovery that persons of taste and feeling are more attached by compassion than by wonder.

When gigantic fictions were banished, some remaining taste for the wonderful encouraged gigantic similes, metaphors, and allegories. The Song of Solomon, and many other Asiatic compositions, afford examples without end of such figures; which are commonly attributed to force of imagination in a warm climate. But a more extensive view will show this to be a mistake. In every climate, hot and

and cold, the figurative style is carried to extravagance, during a certain period in the progress of writing; a style that is relished by all at first, and continues to delight many till it yields to a taste polished by long experience. Even in the bitter cold country of Iceland, we are at no loss for examples. A rain-bow is termed Bridge of the Gods: gold, Tears of Frya: the earth is termed Daughter of Night, the vessel that floats upon Ages; and herbs and plants are her hair, or her fleece. Ice is termed the Great Bridge: a ship, Horse of the Floods. Many authors foolishly conjecture, that the Hurons, and some other neighbouring nations, are of Asiatic extraction; because, like the Asiatics, their discourse is highly figurative.

The national progress of morality is slow: the national progress of taste is still slower. In proportion as a nation polishes, and improves in the arts of peace, taste ripens. The Chinese had long enjoy'd a regular system of government, while the Europeans were comparatively in a chaos; and accordingly literary compositions in China were brought to perfection more early than in Europe. In their poetry they indulge no incredible fables, like those of Ariosto or the Arabian Tales; but commonly select such as afford a good moral. Their novels, like those of the most approved kind among us, treat of misfortunes unforeseen, unexpected good luck, and persons finding out their real parents. The Orphan of China, composed in the fourteenth century, surpasses far any European play in that early period. But good writing has made a more rapid progress with us; not from superiority of talents, but from the great labour the Chinese must undergo, in learning to read and write their own language. The Chinese tragedy is, indeed, languid, and not sufficiently interesting; which Voltaire ascribes to want of genius. With
better

better reason he might have ascribed it to the nature of their government, so well contrived for preserving peace and order, as to afford few examples of surprising events, and little opportunity for exerting manly talents.

A nation cannot acquire a taste for ridicule till it emerge out of the savage state. Ridicule, however, is too rough for refined manners: Cicero discovers in Plautus a happy talent for ridicule, and peculiar delicacy of wit; but Horace, who figured in the court of Augustus, eminent for delicacy of taste, declares against the low roughness of that author's raillery (c). The high burlesque style prevails commonly in the period between barbarity and politeness, in which a taste somewhat improved discovers the ridicule of former manners. Rabelais in France and Butler in England are illustrious examples. Dr. Swift is our latest burlesque writer, and probably will be the last.

Emulation among a multitude of small states in Greece, ripened taste, and promoted the fine arts. Taste, roused by emulation, refines gradually; and is advanced toward perfection by a diligent study of beautiful productions. Rome was indebted to Greece for that delicacy of taste which shone during the reign of Augustus, especially in literary compositions. But taste could not long flourish in a despotic government: so low had the Roman taste fallen in the reign of the Emperor Hadrian, that nothing would please him but to suppress Homer, and in his place to install a silly Greek poet, named Antimachus.

The northern barbarians who desolated the Roman empire, and revived in some measure the savage state, occasioned a woful decay of taste. Pope Gregory VII. anno 1080, presented to the Emperor

(c) Elements of Criticism, chap. 2. part 2.

Rodolph a crown of gold with the following inscription : *Petra dedit Petro, Petrus diadema Rodolpho*. Miserably low must taste have been in that period, when a childish play of words was relished as a proper decoration for a serious solemnity. The famous golden bull of Germany, digested anno 1356 by Bartolus, a celebrated lawyer, and intended for a master-piece of composition, is replete with wild conceptions, without the least regard to truth, propriety, or connection. It begins with an apostrophe to Pride, to Satan, to Choler, and to Luxury : it asserts, that there must be seven electors for opposing the seven mortal sins : The fall of the angels, terrestrial paradise, Pompey, and Cæsar, are introduced ; and it is said, that Germany is founded on the Trinity, and on the three theological virtues. What can be more puerile ! A sermon preached by the Bishop of Bitonto, at the opening of the council of Trent, excels in that manner of composition. He proves, that a council is necessary ; because several councils have extirpated heresy, and deposed kings and emperors ; because the poets assemble councils of the gods ; because Moses writes, that at the creation of man and at confounding the language of the giants, God acted in the manner of a council ; because religion has three heads, doctrine, sacraments, and charity ; and that these three are termed a council. He exhorts the members of the council to strict unity, like the heroes in the Trojan horse. He asserts, that the gates of paradise and of the council are the same ; that the holy fathers should sprinkle their dry hearts with the living water that flowed from it ; and that otherwise the Holy Ghost would open their mouths like those of Balaam and Caiaphas (*d*). James I. of Britain dedicates his declaration against Voristus to our Saviour,

(*d*) Father Paul's History of Trent, lib. 1.

in the following words: "To the honour of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, the eternal Son of the eternal Father, the only Theanthropos, mediator and reconciler of mankind; in sign of thankfulness, his most humble and obliged servant, James, by the grace of God, King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, defender of the Faith, doth dedicate and consecrate this his declaration." Funeral orations were some time ago in fashion. Regnard, who was in Stockholm about the year 1680, heard a funeral oration at the burial of a servant-maid. The priest, after mentioning her parents and the place of her birth, praised her as an excellent cook, and enlarged upon every ragout that she made in perfection. She had but one fault, he said, which was the salting her dishes too much; but that she show'd thereby her prudence, of which salt is the symbol; a stroke of wit that probably was admired by the whole audience. Funeral orations are out of fashion: the futility of a trite panegyric purchased with money, and indecent flattery in circumstances that require sincerity and truth, could not long stand against improved taste. The yearly feast of the ass that carried the mother of God into Egypt, was a most ridiculous farce, highly relished in the dark ages of Christianity. See the description of that feast in Voltaire's General History (e).

The public amusements of our forefathers show the grossness of their taste after they were reduced to barbarism by the Goths and Vandals. The plays termed Mysteries, because they were borrowed from the Scriptures, indicate gross manners as well as infantine taste; and yet in France, not farther back than three or four centuries, these Mysteries were such favourites as constantly to make a part at

every public festival. The reformation of religion, which roused a spirit of enquiry, banished that amusement, as not only low but indecent. A sort of plays succeeded, termed Moralities; less indecent indeed, but scarce preferable in point of composition. These Moralities have also been long banished, except in Spain, where they still continue in vigour. The devil is commonly the hero; nor do the Spaniards make any difficulty, even in their more regular plays, to introduce supernatural and allegorical beings upon the same stage with men and women. The Cardinal Colonna carried into Spain a beautiful bust of the Emperor Caligula. In the war about the succession of Spain, after the death of its King Charles II. Lord Gallway, upon a painful search, found that bust serving as a weight to a church-clock.

In the days of our barbarous forefathers, who were governed by pride as well as by hatred, princes and men of rank entertained a changeling, distinguished by the name of fool; who, being the butt of their silly jokes, flattered their vanity. Such amusement, not less gross than inhuman, could not show its face even in the dawn of taste: it was rendered less insipid and less inhuman, by entertaining one of real wit; who, under disguise of a fool, was indulged in the most satirical truths. Upon a farther purification of taste, it was discovered, that to draw amusement from folly, real or pretended, is below the dignity of human nature. More refined amusements were invented, such as balls, public spectacles, gaming, and society with women. Parasites, described by Plautus and Terence, were of such a rank as to be permitted to dine with gentlemen; and yet were so despicable as to be the butt of every man's joke. They were placed at the lower end of the table; and the guests diverted themselves with daubing their faces, and
even

even kicking and cuffing them; all which was patiently borne, for the sake of a plentiful meal. They resembled the fools and clowns of later times, being equally intended to be laughed at: but the parasite profession shows grosser manners; it being less indelicate to make game of fools, who were men of the lowest rank, than of parasites, who were gentlemen by birth, though not by behaviour.

Pride, which introduced fools, brought dwarfs also into fashion. In Italy, fondness for dwarfs was carried to extravagance. "Being at Rome in the year 1566," says a French writer, "I was invited by Cardinal Vitelli to a feast, where we were served by no fewer than thirty-four dwarfs, most of them horridly distorted." Was not the taste of that Cardinal horridly distorted? The same author adds, that Francis I. and Henry II. Kings of France, had many dwarfs: one named Great John was the least ever had been seen, if it was not a dwarf at Milan, who was carried about in a cage.

In the eighth and ninth centuries, no sort of commerce was known in Europe, but what was carried on in markets and fairs. Artificers and manufacturers were dispersed through the country, and so were monasteries; the towns being inhabited by none but clergymen, and those who immediately depended on them. The nobility lived on their estates, unless when they followed the court. The low people were not at liberty to quit the place of their birth: the villain was annexed to the estate, and the slave to the person of his lord. Slavery fostered rough manners; and there could be no improvement in manners, nor in taste, where there was no society. Of all the polite nations in Europe, the English were the latest of taking to a town-life; and their progress in taste and man-

ners was proportionally slow. By no audience in the neighbouring kingdoms, would the following passage in one of Dryden's plays have been endured. "Jack Sauce! if I say it is a tragedy, it shall be "a tragedy in spite of you: teach your grandam how to piss." These plays are full of such coarse stuff, and yet continued favourites down to the Revolution. For a long time after the revival of arts and sciences, Lucan was ranked above Virgil by every critic. Ben Johnson, and even Beaumont and Fletcher, were preferred before Shakespeare*; and the sublime genius of Milton made little impression for more than half a century after *Paradise Lost* was published. We have Dryden's authority that taste in his time was considerably refined:

"They who have best succeeded on the stage,
 "Have still conform'd their genius to their age.
 "Thus Johnson did mechanic humour show,
 "When men were dull, and conversation low.
 "Then comedy was faultless, but 'twas coarse:
 "Cobb's Tankard was a jest, and Otter's Horse.
 "Fame then was cheap, and the first comer sped:
 "And they have kept it since by being dead.
 "But were they now to write, when critics weigh
 "Each line and ev'ry word throughout a play,
 "None of them, no not Johnson in his height,
 "Could pass without allowing grains for weight.
 "If love and honour now are higher rais'd,
 "It's not the poet, but the age is prais'd:
 "Wit's now arriv'd to a more high degree,
 "Our native language more refin'd and free.
 "Our ladies and our men now speak more wit
 "In conversation, than those poets writ."

* Yet Shakespeare spent his life in writing for such people. Unhappy Shakespeare! who, like his countryman Roger Bacon, lived in an age unworthy of him.

The

The high opinion Dryden had of himself and of his age breaks out in every line. Johnson probably had the same opinion of himself and of his age: the present age is not exempted from that bias; nor will the next age be, though probably maturity in taste will be still later. We humble ourselves before the ancients who are far removed from us; but not to soar above our immediate predecessors, would be a sad mortification. Many scenes in Dryden's plays, if not lower than Cobb's Tankard or Otter's Horse, are more out of place. In the *WILD GALLANT*, the hero is a wretch constantly employed, not only in cheating his creditors, but in cheating his mistress, a lady of high rank and fortune. And how absurd is the scene, where he convinces the father of his mistress, that the devil had got him with child! The character of Sir Martin Marall is below contempt. The scenes in the same play, of a bawd instructing one of her novices how to behave to her gallants, and of the novice practising her lessons, are, perhaps, not lower than Cobb's Tankard or Otter's Horse, but surely they are less innocent.

Portugal was rising in power and splendor when Camoens wrote the *Lusiad*; and with respect to the music of verse, it has merit. The author, however, is far from shining in point of taste. He makes a strange jumble of Heathen and Christian Deities. "Gama," observes Voltaire, "in a storm, addresses himself to Christ, but it is Venus who comes to his relief." Voltaire's observation is but too well founded. In the first book, Jove summons a council of the gods, which is described at great length, for no earthly purpose but to show that he favoured the Portuguese. Bacchus, on the other hand, declares against them upon the following account: That he himself had gained immortal glory as conqueror of the Indies; which

would be eclipsed, if the Indies should be conquered a second time by the Portuguese. A Moorish commander having received Gama with smiles, but with hatred in his heart, the poet brings down Bacchus from heaven to confirm the Moor in his wicked purposes; which would have been perpetrated, had not Venus interposed in Gama's behalf. In the second canto, Bacchus feigns himself to be a Christian, in order to deceive the Portuguese; but Venus implores her father Jupiter to protect them. And yet, after all, I am loth to condemn an early writer for introducing Heathen Deities as actors in a real history, when in the age of Lewis XIV. celebrated for refinement of taste, we find French writers, Boileau in particular, guilty sometimes of the same absurdity (*f*).

Though taste in France is more correct than in any other nation, it will bear still some purification. The scene of a clyster-pipe in Moliere is too low even for a farce; and yet to this day it is acted, with a few softenings, before the most polite audience in Europe.

In Elements of Criticism (*g*) several causes are mentioned that may retard taste in its progress toward maturity, and that still more effectually may give it a retrograde motion when it is in maturity. There are many biases, both natural and acquired, that tend to mislead persons, even of the best taste. Of the latter, instances are without number. I select one or two, to show what influence even the slightest circumstances have on taste. The only tree beautiful at all seasons is the holly: in winter, its deep and shining green intitles it to be the queen of the grove: in summer, this colour completes the harmonious mixture of shades so pleasing in that sea-

(*f*) Elements of Criticism, chap. 22.

(*g*) Chap. 25.

son! Mrs. D—— is lively and sociable. She, in particular, is eminent above most of her sex, for a correct taste, displayed not only within doors, but in the garden and in the field. Having become mistress of a great house by matrimony, the most honourable of all titles, a group of tall hollies, which had long been suffered to obscure a capital room, soon attracted her eye. She took an aversion to a holly, and was not at ease till the group was extirpated. Such a bias is perfectly harmless. What follows is not altogether so excusable. The Oxonians disliked the great Newton, because he was educated at Cambridge; and they favoured every book writ against him. That bias, I hope, has not come down to the present time.

Refinement of taste in a nation is always accompanied with refinement of manners: people accustomed to behold order and elegance in public buildings and public gardens, acquire urbanity in private. But it is irksome to trudge long a beaten track, familiar to all the world; and, therefore, leaving what is said above, like a statue curtailed of legs and arms, I hasten to the history of the fine arts.

Useful arts paved the way to fine arts. Men upon whom the former had bestowed every convenience, turned their thoughts to the latter. Beauty was studied in objects of sight; and men of taste attached themselves to the fine arts, which multiplied their enjoyments and improved their benevolence. Sculpture and painting made an early figure in Greece; which afforded plenty of beautiful originals to be copied in these imitative arts. Statuary, a more simple imitation than painting, was sooner brought to perfection: the statue of Jupiter by Phidias, and of Juno by Polycletes, though the admiration of all the world, were executed long before the art of light and shade was known.

known. Apollodorus, and Zeuxis his disciple, who flourished in the fifteenth Olympiad, were the first who figured in that art. Another cause concurred to advance statuary before painting in Greece, viz. a great demand for statues of their gods. Architecture, as a fine art, made a slower progress. Proportions, upon which its elegance chiefly depends, cannot be accurately ascertained, but by an infinity of trials in great buildings: a model cannot be relied on; for a large and a small building, even of the same form, require different proportions. Gardening, however, made a still slower progress than architecture: the palace of Alcinoous, in the seventh book of the *Odyssæy*, is grand and highly ornamented; but his garden is no better than what we term a kitchen-garden.

The ancient churches in this island cannot be our own invention, being unfit for a cold climate. The vast space they occupy, quantity of stone, and gloominess by excluding the sun, afford a refreshing coolness, and fit them for a hot climate only. It is highly probable that they have been copied from the mosques in the south of Spain, erected there by the Saracens. Spain, when possessed by that people, was the centre of arts and sciences, and led the fashion in every thing beautiful and magnificent.

From the fine arts mentioned, we proceed to literature. It is agreed, among all antiquaries, that the first writings were in verse, and that writing in prose was of a much later date. The first Greek who wrote in prose was, Pherecides Syrus: the first Roman was, Appius Cæcus, who composed a declamation against Pyrrhus. The four books of the *Chatah Bhade*, which is the sacred book of Hindostan, are composed in verse stanzas; and the Arabian compositions in prose followed long after

after those in verse. To account for that singular fact, many learned pens have been employed; but without success. By some it has been urged, that as memory is the only record of events where writing is unknown, history originally was composed in verse for the sake of memory. This is not satisfactory. To undertake the painful task of composing in verse merely for the sake of memory, would require more foresight than ever was exerted by a barbarian; not to mention that other means were used for preserving the memory of remarkable events, a heap of stones, a pillar, or other object that catches the eye. The account given by Longinus is more ingenious. In a fragment of his treatise on verse, the only part that remains, he observes, "that measure or verse belongs to poetry, "because poetry represents the various passions with "their language; for which reason the ancients, "in their ordinary discourse, delivered their "thoughts in verse rather than in prose." Longinus thought, that anciently men were more exposed to accidents and dangers, than when they were protected by good government and by fortified cities. But he seems not to have adverted, that fear and grief, inspired by dangers and misfortunes, are better suited to humble prose than to elevated verse. I add, that however natural poetical diction may be when one is animated with any vivid passion, it is not supposable that the ancients never wrote nor spoke but when excited by passion. Their history, their laws, their covenants, were certainly not composed in that tone of mind.

An important article in the progress of the fine arts, which writers have not sufficiently attended to, will, if I mistake not, explain this mystery. The article is the profession of a bard, which sprung up in early times, before writing was known, and died

away gradually, as writing turned more and more common. The curiosity of man is great with respect to the transactions of his own species; and when such transactions are described in verse, accompanied with music, the performance is enchanting. An ear, a voice, skill in instrumental music, and, above all, a poetical genius, are requisite to excel in that complicated art. As such talents are rare, the few that possessed them were highly esteemed; and hence the profession of a bard, which, beside natural talents, required more culture and exercise than any other known art. Bards were capital persons at every festival and at every solemnity. Their songs, which, by recording the achievements of kings and heroes, animated every hearer, must have been the entertainment of every warlike nation. We have Hesiod's authority, that in his time bards were as common as potters or joiners, and as liable to envy. Demodocus is mentioned by Homer as a celebrated bard (*b*); and Phemius, another bard, is introduced by him, deprecating the wrath of Ulysses in the following words:

“ O king! to mercy be thy soul inclin'd,
 “ And spare the poet's ever-gentle kind.
 “ A deed like this thy future fame would wrong,
 “ For dear to gods and men is sacred song.
 “ Self-taught I sing; by heav'n, and heav'n alone,
 “ The genuine seeds of poesy are sown;
 “ And (what the gods bestow) the lofty lay,
 “ To gods alone, and godlike worth, we pay.
 “ Save then the poet, and thyself reward;
 “ 'Tis thine to merit, mine is to record.”

Cicero reports, that at Roman festivals anciently, the virtues and exploits of their great men were

(*b*) Odysses, b. 8.

sung

fung (*i*). The same custom prevailed in Peru and Mexico, as we learn from Garcilasso and other authors. Strabo (*k*) gives a very particular account of the Gallic bards. The following quotation is from Ammianus Marcellinus (*l*). “Bardi
 “quidem fortia virorum illustrium facta, heroicis
 “composita versibus, cum dulcibus lyræ modulis,
 “cantitarunt.” We have for our authority Father Gobien, that even the inhabitants of the Marian islands have bards, who are greatly admired, because in their songs are celebrated the feats of their ancestors. There are traces of the same kind among the Apalachites in North America *. And we shall see afterward (*m*), that in no other part of

(*i*) Tusculan Questions, lib. 4. No. 3, & 4.

(*k*) Lib. 4.

(*l*) Lib. 15. cap. 9.

(*m*) Sketch 7. Progress of Manners.

* The first seal that a young Greenlander catches is made a feast for the family and neighbours. The young champion, during the repast, descants upon his address in catching the animal: the guests admire his dexterity, and extol the flavour of the meat. Their only music is a sort of drum, which accompanies a song in praise of seal-catching, in praise of their ancestors, or in welcoming the sun's return to them. Here are the rudiments of the bard-profession. The song is made for a chorus, as many of our ancient songs are. Take the following example:

“The welcome sun returns again,

“Amna ajah, ajah, ah-hu!

“And brings us weather fine and fair.

“Amna ajah, ajah, ah-hu!

The bard sings the first and third lines, accompanying it with his drum, and with a sort of dance. The other lines, termed The Burden of the Song, are sung by the guests.

the world were bards honoured than in Britain and Scandinavia.

Bards were the only historians before writing was introduced. Tacitus (*n*) says, that the songs of the German bards were their only annals. And Joannes Magnus, Archbishop of Upsal, acknowledges, that in compiling his history of the ancient Goths, he had no other records but the songs of the bards. As these songs made an illustrious figure at every festival, they were conveyed in every family by parents to their children; and in that manner were kept alive before writing was known.

The invention of writing made a considerable change in the bard-profession. It is now an agreed point, that no poetry is fit to be accompanied with music, but what is simple: a complicated thought or description requires the utmost attention, and leaves none for the music; or if it divide the attention, it makes but a faint impression (*o*). The simple operas of Quinault bear away the palm from every thing of the kind composed by Boileau or Racine. But when a language, in its progress to maturity, is enriched with variety of phrases fit to express the most elevated thoughts, men of genius aspired to the higher strains of poetry, leaving music and song to the bards: which distinguished the profession of a poet from that of a bard. Homer, in a lax sense, may be termed a bard; for in that character he strolled from feast to feast. But he was not a bard in the original sense: he, indeed, recited his poems to crowded audiences; but his poems are too complex for music, and he probably did not sing them, nor accompany them with the lyre. The Trovadores of Provence were bards in the original sense, and made a capital figure

(*n*) De Moribus Germanorum, cap. 2.

(*o*) See Elements of Criticism, vol. 2. Appendix.

in the days of ignorance, when few could read, and fewer write. In later times, the songs of the bards were taken down in writing, which gave every one access to them without a bard; and the profession sunk by degrees into oblivion. Among the Highlanders of Scotland, reading and writing in their own tongue is not common even at present; and that circumstance supported long the bard-profession among them, after being forgot among the neighbouring nations. Ossian was the most celebrated bard in Caledonia, as Homer was in Greece*.

After the foregoing historical deduction, the reader will perceive, without any assistance, why the first writings were in verse. The songs of the bards, being universal favourites, were certainly the first compositions that writing was employed upon: they would be carefully collected by the most skilful writers, in order to preserve them in perpetual remembrance. The following part of the progress is equally obvious. People acquainted with no written compositions but what were in verse, composed in verse their laws, their religious ceremonies, and every memorable transaction that was intended to be preserved in memory by writing. But when subjects of writing multiplied, and became more and more involved, when people began to reason, to teach, and to harangue, they were obliged to descend to humble prose; for to con-

* The multitude are struck with what is new and splendid, but seldom continue long in a wrong taste. Voltaire holds it to be a strong testimony for the *Gierusalem Liberata*, that even the gondoliers in Venice have it mostly by heart; and that one no sooner pronounces a stanza than another carries it on. The works of Ossian have the same testimony for them: there are not many Highlanders, even of the lowest rank, but can repeat long passages out of them.)

fine

fine a writer or speaker to verse in handling subjects of that nature, would be a burden unsupportable.

The prose compositions of early historians are all of them dramatic. A writer destitute of art is naturally prompted to relate facts as he saw them performed: he introduces his personages as speaking and conferring; and he himself relates what was acted and not spoke. The historical books of the Old Testament are composed in that mode; and so addicted to the dramatic are the authors of those books, that they frequently introduce God himself into the dialogue. At the same time, the simplicity of that mode is happily suited to the poverty of every language in its early periods. The dramatic mode has a delicious effect in expressing sentiment, and every thing that is simple and tender (*p*). Take the following instance of a low incident becoming, by that means, not a little interesting. Naomi having lost her husband and her two sons in foreign parts, and purposing to return to the land of her forefathers, said to her two daughters-in law, "Go, return each to her mother's house: the LORD deal kindly with you, as ye have dealt with the dead, and with me. The LORD grant that you may find rest, each of you in the house of her husband. Then she kissed them: and they lift up their voice and wept. And they said unto her, Surely we will return with thee unto thy people. And Naomi said, Turn again, my daughters: why will ye go with me? are there yet any more sons in my womb, that they may be your husbands? Turn again, my daughters, go your way, for I am too old to have an husband: if I should say, I have hope, if I should have an

(*p*) See Elements of Criticism, chap. 22.

" husband

“ husband also to-night, and should also bear sons;
“ would ye tarry for them till they were grown?
“ would you stay for them from having husbands?
“ bands? nay, my daughters: for it grieveth me
“ much for your sakes, that the hand of the
“ LORD is gone out against me. And they lift up
“ their voice, and wept again: and Orpah kissed
“ her mother-in-law, but Ruth clave unto her.
“ And she said, Behold, thy sister-in-law is gone
“ back unto her people, and unto her gods: return
“ thou after thy sister-in-law. And Ruth said,
“ Intreat me not to leave thee, or to return
“ from following after thee: for whither thou
“ goest, I will go; and where thou lodgest, I
“ will lodge: thy people shall be my people, and
“ thy God my God: where thou diest, will I die,
“ and there will I be buried: the LORD do so to
“ me, and more also, if aught but death part
“ thee and me. When she saw that she was steadfastly
“ minded to go with her, then she left speaking
“ unto her.

“ So they two went until they came to Beth-lehem.
“ And it came to pass when they were come to Beth-lehem,
“ that all the city was moved about them, and they
“ said, Is this Naomi?
“ And she said unto them, Call me not Naomi,
“ call me Mara: for the Almighty hath dealt very
“ bitterly with me. I went out full, and the LORD
“ hath brought me home again empty: why then call ye
“ me Naomi, seeing the LORD hath testified against me,
“ and the Almighty hath afflicted me? So Naomi returned,
“ and Ruth the Moabitess her daughter-in-law with her,
“ which returned out of the country of Moab: and they
“ came to Beth-lehem in the beginning of barley-harvest.

“ And Naomi had a kinsman of her husband's,
“ a mighty man of wealth, of the family of Eli-melech;

“ melech ; and his name was Boaz. And Ruth
“ the Moabitess said unto Naomi, Let me now go
“ to the field, and glean ears of corn after him in
“ whose sight I shall find grace. And she said
“ unto her, Go, my daughter. And she went,
“ and came, and gleaned in the field after the
“ reapers : and her hap was to light on a part of
“ the field belonging unto Boaz, who was of the
“ kindred of Elimelech.

“ And behold, Boaz came from Beth-lehem,
“ and said unto the reapers, The LORD be with
“ you : and they answered him, The LORD bless
“ thee. Then said Boaz unto his servant that was
“ set over the reapers, Whose damsel is this ? And
“ the servant that was set over the reapers answer-
“ ed and said, It is the Moabitish damsel that
“ came back with Naomi, out of the country of
“ Moab : and she said, I pray you, let me glean,
“ and gather after the reapers, amongst the
“ sheaves : so she came, and hath continued even
“ from the morning until now, that she tarried a
“ little in the house. Then said Boaz unto Ruth,
“ Hearest thou not, my daughter ? Go not to
“ glean in another field, neither go from hence,
“ but abide here fast by my maidens. Let thine
“ eyes be on the field that they do reap, and go
“ thou after them : have I not charged the young
“ men, that they shall not touch thee ? and
“ when thou art a-thirst, go unto the vessels, and
“ drink of that which the young men have drawn.
“ Then she fell on her face, and bowed herself to
“ the ground, and said unto him, Why have I found
“ grace in thine eyes, that thou shouldst take
“ knowledge of me, seeing I am a stranger ?
“ And Boaz answered and said unto her, It hath
“ fully been shewed me all that thou hast done
“ unto thy mother-in-law since the death of thine
“ husband ; and how thou hast left thy father and
“ thy

“ thy mother, and the land of thy nativity, and
“ art come unto a people which thou knewest not
“ heretofore. The LORD recompense thy work,
“ and a full reward be given thee of the LORD
“ God of Israel, under whose wings thou art
“ come to trust. Then she said, Let me find
“ favour in thy sight, my lord, for that thou hast
“ comforted me, and for that thou hast spoken
“ friendly unto thine handmaid, though I be not
“ like unto one of thine handmaidens. And Boaz
“ said unto her, At meal-time come thou hi-
“ ther, and eat of the bread, and dip thy morsel
“ in the vinegar. And she sat by the reapers:
“ and he reached her parched corn, and she did
“ eat, and was sufficed, and left. And when
“ she was risen up to glean, Boaz com-
“ manded his young men, saying, Let her
“ glean even among the sheaves, and reproach
“ her not. And let fall also some of the handfuls
“ of purpose for her, and leave them, that she
“ may glean them, and rebuke her not. So she
“ gleaned in the field until even, and beat out that
“ she had gleaned: and it was about an ephah of
“ barley.

“ And she took it up, and went into the city:
“ and her mother-in-law saw what she had glean-
“ ed: and she brought forth, and gave to her
“ that she had reserved, after she was sufficed.
“ And her mother-in-law said unto her, Where
“ hast thou gleaned to-day? and where wroughtest
“ thou? blessed be he that did take knowledge of
“ thee. And she shewed her mother-in-law with
“ whom he had wrought, and said, The man’s
“ name, with whom I wrought to-day, is Boaz.
“ And Naomi said unto her daughter-in-law,
“ Blessed be he of the LORD, who hath not left
“ off his kindness to the living and to the dead.
“ And Naomi said unto her, The man is near
“ of

“ of kin unto us, one of our next kinsmen. And
 “ Ruth the Moabitess said, He said unto me also,
 “ Thou shalt keep fast by my young men, until
 “ they have ended all my harvest. And Naomi
 “ said unto Ruth her daughter-in-law, It is good,
 “ my daughter, that thou go out with his maidens,
 “ that they meet thee not in any other field. So
 “ she kept fast by the maidens of Boaz to glean,
 “ unto the end of barley-harvest, and of wheat-
 “ harvest; and dwelt with her mother-in-law.

“ Then Naomi her mother-in-law said unto
 “ her, My daughter, shall I not seek rest for thee,
 “ that it may be well with thee? And now is not
 “ Boaz of our kindred, with whose maidens thou
 “ wast? Behold he winnoweth barley to-night in
 “ the threshing-floor. Wash thyself, therefore,
 “ and anoint thee, and put thy raiment upon thee,
 “ and get thee down to the floor: but make
 “ not thyself known unto the man, until he shall
 “ have done eating and drinking. And it shall be,
 “ when he lieth down, that thou shalt mark the
 “ place where he shall lie, and thou shalt go in,
 “ and uncover his feet, and lay thee down, and he
 “ will tell thee what thou shalt do. And she
 “ said unto her, All that thou sayest unto me, I
 “ will do.

“ And she went down unto the floor, and did
 “ according to all that her mother-in-law bade
 “ her. And when Boaz had eaten and drunk,
 “ and his heart was merry, he went to lie down
 “ at the end of the heap of corn: and she came
 “ softly, and uncovered his feet, and laid her
 “ down.

“ And it came to pass at midnight, that the
 “ man was afraid, and turned himself: and be-
 “ hold, a woman lay at his feet. And he said,
 “ Who art thou? And she answered, I am Ruth
 “ thine handmaid: spread, therefore, thy skirt

“ over

“ over thine handmaid, for thou art a near kinsman. And he said, Blessed be thou of the LORD, my daughter: for thou hast shewed more kindness in the latter end, than at the beginning, inasmuch as thou followedst not young men, whether poor or rich. And now, my daughter, fear not, for I will do to thee all that thou requirest: for all the city of my people doth know, that thou art a virtuous woman. And now it is true, that I am thy near kinsman: howbeit, there is a kinsman nearer than I. Tarry this night, and it shall be in the morning, that if he will perform unto thee the part of a kinsman, well, let him do the kinsman's part; but if he will not do the part of a kinsman to thee, then will I do the part of a kinsman to thee, as the LORD liveth: lie down until the morning.

“ And she lay at his feet until the morning: and she rose up before one could know another. And he said, Let it not be known that a woman came into the floor. Also he said, Bring the veil that thou hast upon thee, and hold it. And when she held it, he measured six measures of barley, and laid it on her: and she went into the city. And when she came to her mother-in-law, she said, Who art thou, my daughter? And she told her all that the man had done to her. And she said, These six measures of barley gave he me; for he said to me, Go not empty unto thy mother-in-law. Then said she, Sit still, my daughter, until thou know how the matter will fall: for the man will not be in rest, until he have finished the thing this day.

“ Then went Boaz up to the gate, and sat him down there: and behold, the kinsman of whom Boaz spake, came by; unto whom he said, Ho, such-a-one, turn aside, sit down here. And he turned aside and sat down. And he took

“ ten

“ ten men of the elders of the city, and said, Sit
“ ye down here. And they sat down. And he
“ said unto the kinsman, Naomi, that is come
“ again out of the country of Moab, selleth a par-
“ cel of land, which was our brother Elimelech’s,
“ And I thought to advertise thee, saying, Buy it
“ before the inhabitants, and before the elders of
“ my people. If thou wilt redeem it, redeem it;
“ but if thou wilt not redeem it, then tell me,
“ that I may know: for there is none to re-
“ deem it besides thee, and I am after thee.
“ And he said, I will redeem it. Then said Boaz,
“ What day thou buyest the field of the hand of
“ Naomi, thou must buy it also of Ruth the
“ Moabitefs, the wife of the dead, to raise up the
“ name of the dead upon his inheritance.

“ And the kinsman said, I cannot redeem it for
“ myself, lest I mar mine own inheritance: re-
“ deem thou my right to thy self, for I cannot
“ redeem it. Now this was the manner in former
“ time in Israel, concerning redeeming, and con-
“ cerning changing, for to confirm all things: a
“ man plucked off his shoe, and gave it to his
“ neighbour: and this was a testimony in Israel.
“ Therefore the kinsman said unto Boaz, Buy it
“ for thee: so he drew off his shoe.

“ And Boaz said unto the elders, and unto all
“ the people, Ye are witnesses this day, that I
“ have bought all that was Elimelech’s, and all
“ that was Chilion’s, and Mahlon’s, of the hand
“ of Naomi. Moreover, Ruth the Moabitefs, the
“ wife of Mahlon, have I purchased to be my
“ wife, to raise up the name of the dead upon his
“ inheritance, that the name of the dead be not cut
“ off from among his brethren, and from the gate
“ of his place: ye are witnesses this day. And all
“ the people that were in the gate, and the elders
“ said, We are witnesses: The LORD make the
“ woman

“ woman that is come into thine house, like Rachel, and like Leah, which two did build the house of Israel : and do thou worthily in Ephratah, and be famous in Beth-lehem. And let thy house be like the house of Pharez (whom Tamar bare unto Judah) of the seed which the LORD shall give thee of this young woman.

“ So Boaz took Ruth, and she was his wife : and when he went in unto her, the LORD gave her conception, and she bare a son. And the woman said unto Naomi, Blessed be the LORD, which hath not left thee this day without a kinsman, that his name may be famous in Israel. And he shall be unto thee a restorer of thy life, and a nourisher of thine old age : for thy daughter-in-law which loveth thee, which is better to thee than seven sons, hath borne him. And Naomi took the child, and laid it in her bosom, and became nurse unto it (q).”

The dramatic mode is far from pleasing so much in relating bare historical facts. Take the following example :

“ Wherefore Nathan spake unto Bath-sheba the mother of Solomon, saying, Hast thou not heard that Adonijah the son of Haggith doth reign, and David our lord knoweth it not ? Now therefore come, let me, I pray thee, give thee counsel, that thou mayst save thine own life, and the life of thy son Solomon. Go, and get thee in unto king David, and say unto him, Didst not thou, my lord, O king, swear unto thine handmaid, saying, Assuredly Solomon thy son shall reign after me, and he shall sit upon my throne ? why then doth Adonijah reign ? Behold, while thou yet talkest there with the king, I will also come in after thee, and confirm thy words.

“ And Bath-sheba went in unto the king, into
“ the chamber : and the king was very old ; and
“ Abishag the Shunammite ministered unto the
“ king. And Bath-sheba bowed, and did obeisance
“ unto the king : and the king said, What wouldst
“ thou ? And she said unto him, My lord, thou
“ swarest by the LORD thy God unto thine hand-
“ maid, saying, Assuredly Solomon thy son shall reign
“ after me, and he shall sit upon my throne : and
“ now behold, Adonijah reigneth ; and now my
“ lord the king, thou knowest it not. And he
“ hath slain oxen, and fat cattle, and sheep in
“ abundance, and hath called all the sons of the
“ king, and Abiathar the priest, and Joab the
“ captain of the host : but Solomon thy servant
“ hath he not called. And thou, my lord, O King,
“ the eyes of all Israel are upon thee, that thou
“ shouldst tell them who shall sit on the throne of
“ my lord the king after him. Otherwise it shall
“ come to pass, when my lord the king shall sleep
“ with his fathers, that I and my son Solomon
“ shall be counted offenders.

“ And lo, while she yet talked with the king,
“ Nathan the prophet also came in. And they
“ told the king, saying, Behold, Nathan the pro-
“ phet. And when he was come in before the
“ king, he bowed himself before the king with his
“ face to the ground. And Nathan said, My lord
“ O king, hast thou said, Adonijah shall reign
“ after me, and he shall sit upon my throne ? For
“ he is gone down this day, and hath slain oxen,
“ and fat cattle, and sheep in abundance, and hath
“ called all the king's sons, and the captains of the
“ host, and Abiathar the priest ; and behold, they
“ eat and drink before him, and say, God save
“ king Adonijah. But me, even me thy servant,
“ and Zadok the priest, and Benaiah the son of
“ Jehoiada, and thy servant Solomon hath he not
“ called.

“ called. Is this thing done by my lord the king,
“ and thou hast not shewed it unto thy servant,
“ who should sit on the throne of my lord the king
“ after him ?

“ Then king David answered and said, Call me
“ Bath-sheba : and she came into the king’s pre-
“ sence, and stood before the king. And the king
“ sware, and said, As the LORD liveth, that hath
“ redeemed my soul out of all distress, even as I
“ sware unto thee by the LORD God of Israel,
“ saying, Assuredly Solomon thy son shall reign
“ after me, and he shall sit upon my throne in my
“ stead ; even so will I certainly do this day. Then
“ Bath-sheba bowed with her face to the earth,
“ and did reverence to the king, and said, Let my
“ lord king David live for ever.

“ And king David said, Call me Zadok the
“ priest, and Nathan the prophet, and Benaiah
“ the son of Jehoiada. And they came before the
“ king. The king also said unto them, Take with
“ you the servants of your lord, and cause Solomon
“ my son to ride upon mine own mule, and bring
“ him down to Gihon. And let Zadok the priest,
“ and Nathan the prophet, anoint him there king
“ over Israel : and blow ye with the trumpet, and
“ say, God save king Solomon. Then ye shall
“ come up after him, that he may come and sit
“ upon my throne ; for he shall be king in my
“ stead : and I have appointed him to be ruler over
“ Israel, and over Judah. And Benaiah the son
“ of Jehoiada answered the king, and said, Amen :
“ the LORD God of my lord the king say so too.
“ As the LORD hath been with my lord the king,
“ even so he be with Solomon, and make his
“ throne greater than the throne of my lord king
“ David. So Zadok the priest, and Nathan the
“ prophet, and Benaiah the son of Jehoiada, and
“ the Cherethites and the Pelethites, went down,
“ and

“ and caused Solomon to ride upon king David’s
“ mule, and brought him to Gihon. And Zadok
“ the priest took an horn of oyl out of the taber-
“ nacle, and anointed Solomon : and they blew
“ the trumpet, and all the people said, God save
“ king Solomon. And all the people came up
“ after him, and the people piped with pipes, and
“ rejoyced with great joy, so that the earth rent
“ with the sound of them.

“ And Adonijah, and all the guests that were
“ with him, heard it, as they had made an end of
“ eating : and when Joab heard the sound of the
“ trumpet, he said, Wherefore is this noise of the
“ city, being in an uprore ? And while he yet
“ spake, behold, Jonathan the son of Abiathar
“ the priest came, and Adonijah said unto him,
“ Come in, for thou art a valiant man, and bring-
“ est good tidings. And Jonathan answered and
“ said to Adonijah, Verily our lord king David
“ hath made Solomon king. And the king has sent
“ with him Zadok the priest, and Nathan the
“ prophet, and Benaiah the son of Jehoiada, and
“ the Cherethites, and the Pelethites, and they
“ have caused him to ride upon the king’s mule.
“ And Zadok the priest, and Nathan the prophet
“ have anointed him king in Gihon : and they are
“ come up from thence rejoycing, so that the city
“ rang again : this is the noise that ye have heard.
“ And also Solomon sitteth on the throne of the
“ kingdom. And moreover the king’s servants
“ came to bless our lord king David, saying, God
“ make the name of Solomon better than thy
“ name, and make his throne greater than thy
“ throne : and the king bowed himself upon the
“ bed. And also thus said the king : Blessed be
“ the LORD God of Israel, which hath given one
“ to sit on my throne this day, mine eyes even
“ seeing it. And all the guests that were with
“ Adonijah

“ Adonijah were afraid, and rose up, and went
“ every man his way (r).”

In the example here given are found frequent repetitions ; not however by the same person, but by different persons who have occasion in the course of the story to say the same things ; which is natural in the dramatic mode, where things are represented precisely as they were transacted. In that view, Homer's repetitions are a beauty, not a blemish ; for they are confined to the dramatic part, and never occur in the narrative.

But the dramatic mode of composition, however pleasing, is tedious and intolerable in a long history. In the progress of society new appetites and new passions arise ; men come to be involved with each other in various connections ; incidents and events multiply, and history becomes intricate by an endless variety of circumstances. Dialogue accordingly is more sparingly used, and in history plain narration is mixed with it. Narration is as it were the ground-work, and dialogue is raised upon it, like flowers in embroidery. Homer is admitted by all to be the great master in that mode of composition. Nothing can be more perfect in that respect than the Iliad. The Odyssey is far inferior ; and to guard myself against the censure of the blind admirers of Homer, a tribe extremely formidable, I call to my aid a celebrated critic, whose superior taste and judgment never has been disputed. “ The
“ Odyssey,” says Longinus, “ shows how natural
“ it is for a writer of a great genius, in his declining
“ age, to sink down to fabulous narration ; for that
“ Homer composed the Odyssey after the Iliad is
“ evident from many circumstances. As the Iliad
“ was composed while his genius was in its greatest
“ vigour, the structure of that work is dramatic

“ and full of action ; the *Odyſſey*, on the contrary,
 “ is moſtly employ’d in narration, proceeding from
 “ the coldneſs of old age. In that later compoſition,
 “ Homer may be compared to the ſetting ſun,
 “ which has ſtill the ſame greatneſs, but not the
 “ ſame ardor or force. We ſee not in the *Odyſſey*
 “ that ſublime of the *Iliad* which conſtantly pro-
 “ ceeds in the ſame animated tone, that ſtrong tide
 “ of motions and paſſions flowing ſucceſſively like
 “ waves in a ſtorm. But Homer, like the ocean,
 “ is great, even when he ebbs, and loſes himſelf in
 “ narration and incredible fictions ; witneſs his De-
 “ ſcription of Tempeſts, the Adventures of Ulyſſes
 “ with Polyphemus the Cyclops, and many
 “ others *.”

The narrative mode came in time ſo to prevail,
 that in a long chain of hiſtory, the writer common-
 ly leaves off dialogue altogether. Early writers of
 that kind appear to have very little judgement in
 diſtinguiſhing capital facts from minute circumſtan-
 ces, ſuch as can be ſupply’d by the reader without
 being mentioned. The hiſtory of the Trojan war
 by Dares Phrygius is a curious inſtance of that cold
 and creeping manner of compoſition. Take the
 following paſſage : Hercules having made a deſcent
 upon Troy, ſlew King Laomedon, and made a
 preſent of Heſione, the King’s daughter, to Tela-
 mon his companion. Priamus, who ſucceeded to
 the kingdom of Troy upon the death of his father
 Laomedon, ſent Antenor to demand his ſiſter Heſi-
 one. Our author proceeds in the following manner :
 “ Antenor, as commanded by Priamus, took ſhip-
 “ ping, and ſailed to Magnesia, where Peleus re-

* The *Pilgrim’s Progreſs* and *Robinson Cruſoe*, great
 favourites of the vulgar, are compoſed in a ſtyle enlivened
 like that of Homer by a proper mixture of the dramatic
 and narrative ; and upon that account chiefly have
 been tranſlated into ſeveral European languages.

“ ſided

" sided. Peleus entertained him hospitably three
 " days, and the fourth day demanded whence he
 " came. Antenor said, that he was ordered by
 " Priamus to demand from the Greeks, that they
 " should restore Hesiōne. When Peleus heard this
 " he was angry, because it concerned his family,
 " Telamon being his brother; and ordered the
 " ambassador to depart. Antenor, without delay,
 " retired to his ship, and sailed to Salamis, where
 " Telamon resided, and demanded of him, that he
 " should restore Hesiōne to her brother Priamus;
 " as it was unjust to detain so long in servitude a
 " young woman of royal birth. Telamon answer-
 " ed, that he had done nothing to Priamus; and
 " that he would not restore what he had received
 " as a reward for his valour; and ordered Antenor
 " to leave the island. Antenor went to Achaia;
 " and sailing from thence to Castor and Pollux,
 " demanded of them to satisfy Priamus, by restor-
 " ing to him his sister Hesiōne. Castor and Pollux
 " denied that they had done any injury to Priamus,
 " but that Laomedon had first injured them; or-
 " dering Antenor to depart. From thence he sailed
 " to Nestor in Pylus, telling him the cause of his
 " coming; which when Nestor heard, he begun
 " to exclaim, how Antenor durst set his foot in
 " Greece, seeing the Greeks were first injured by
 " the Phrygians. When Antenor found that he
 " had obtained nothing, and that Priamus was
 " contumeliously treated, he went on shipboard,
 " and returned home." The Roman histories be-
 " fore the time of Cicero are chronicles merely. Cato,
 " Fabius, Pictor, and Piso, confined themselves to
 " naked facts (s). In the Augustæ Historiæ Scriptores
 " we find nothing but a jejune narrative of facts,
 " commonly of very little moment, concerning a de-
 " generate people, without a single incident that can
 " rouse the imagination, or exercise the judgement.

(s) Cicero De Oratore, lib. 2. No. 5.

The Monkish histories are all of them composed in the same manner*.

The dry narrative manner being very little interesting or agreeable, a taste for embellishment prompted some writers to be copious and verbose. Saxo Grammaticus, who in the 12th century composed in Latin a history of Denmark, surprisingly pure at that early period, is extremely verbose and full of tautologies. Such a style, at any rate unpleasant, is intolerable in a modern tongue, before it is enriched with a stock of phrases for expressing aptly the great variety of incidents that enter into history. Take the following example out of an endless number. Henry VII. of England, having the young Queen of Naples in view for a wife, deputed three men in character of ambassadors, to visit her, "and to answer certain questions contained in curious and exquisite instructions for taking a survey of her person, complexion, &c." as expressed by Bacon in his life of that prince. One of the instructions was, to procure a picture of the Queen; which one would think could not require many words; yet behold the instruction itself. "The King's said servants shall also, at their coming to the parties of Spayne, diligently enquire for some conyng paynter having good experience in making and paynting of visages and portretures, and suche oon they shall take with them to the place where the said Quunis make their abode,

* Euripides, in his *Phœnicians*, introduces Oedipus, under sentence of banishment and blind, calling for his staff, his daughter Antigone putting it in his hand, and directing every step, to keep him from stumbling. Such minute circumstances, like what are frequent in Richardson's novels, tend indeed to make the reader conceive himself to be a spectator (1): but whether that advantage be not more than overbalanced by the languor of a creeping narrative, may be justly doubted.

(1) See *Elements of Criticism*, chap. 2. part 1. sect. 7.

“ to the intent that the said paynter maye draw a picture of the visage and semblance of the said young Quine, as like unto her as it can or may be conveniently doon, which picture and image they shall substantially note, and marke in every pounte and circumstance, soo that it agree in similitude and likenesse as near as it may possible to the veray visage, countenance, and semblance of the said Quine; and in case they may perceyve that the paynter, at the furst or second making thereof, hath not made the same perfecta to her similytude and likenesse, or that he hath omitted any feture or circumstance, either in colours, or other proporcions of the said visage, then they shall cause the same paynter, or some other the most conyng paynter that they can gete, soo oftentimes to renewe and reforme the same picture, till it be made perfecta, and agreeable in every behalse, with the very image and visage of the said Quine *.” After this specimen so much to his Lordship’s taste, one will not be surprised at the flatness of the historical style during that period. By that flatness of style his Lordship’s history of Henry VII. sinks below the gravity and dignity of history; particularly in his similes, metaphors, and allusions, not less distant than flat. Of Perkin Warbeck and his followers he says, “ that they were now like sand without lime, ill

* The following passage, copied from an Edinburgh news-paper, may almost rival this eloquent piece. After observing that the frost was intense, which, says the writer, renders travelling very dangerous either in town or country, he proceeds thus: “ We would therefore recommend it to shopkeepers, and those whose houses are close upon the streets or lanes, to scatter ashes opposite to their doors, as it may be a means of preventing passengers from falling, which they are in great danger of doing at present, from the slippiness of the streets, where that practice is not followed.”

“ bound together.” Again, “ But Perkin, adviſed
“ to keep his fire, which hitherto burned as it were
“ upon green wood, alive with continual blowing,
“ failed again into Ireland.” Again, “ As in the
“ tides of people once up, there want not common-
“ ly ſtirring winds to make them more rough, ſo
“ this people did light upon two ringleaders or cap-
“ tains.” Again, ſpeaking of the Corniſh inſur-
gents, and of the cauſes that inflamed them, “ But
“ now theſe bubbles by much ſtirring began to
“ meet, as they uſed to do on the top of water.”
Again, ſpeaking of Perkin, “ And as it fareth
“ with ſmoak, that never loſeth itſelf till it be at
“ the higheſt, he did now before his end raiſe his
“ ſtile, intytling himſelf no more Richard Duke of
“ York, but Richard the Fourth, King of Eng-
“ land.” He deſcends ſometimes ſo low as to play
upon words; witneſs the following ſpeech made for
Perkin to the King of Scotland. “ High and
“ mighty King! your Grace may be pleaſed be-
“ nignly to bow your ears to hear the tragedy of a
“ young man that by right ought to hold in his
“ hand the ball of a kingdom, but by fortune is
“ made himſelf a ball, toſſed from miſery to miſery,
“ and from place to place.” The following is a
ſtrangely forc’d alluſion. Talking of Margaret
Duchefs of Burgundy, who had patronized Lam-
bert Simnel and Perkin Warbeck, he ſays, “ It is
“ the ſtrangeſt thing in the world, that the Lady
“ Margaret ſhould now, when other women give
“ over child bearing, bring forth two ſuch monſters,
“ being, at birth, not of nine or ten months, but
“ of many years. And whereas other natural mo-
“ thers bring forth children weak, and not able to
“ help themſelves, ſhe bringeth forth tall ſtriplings,
“ able, ſoon after their coming into the world, to
“ bid battle to mighty kings.” I ſhould not have
given ſo many inſtances of puerilities in compoſiti-
on,

on, were they not the performance of a great philosopher. Low, indeed, must have been the taste of that age when it infected its greatest genius.

The perfection of historical composition, which writers at last attain to after wandering through various imperfect modes, is a relation of interesting facts connected with their motives and consequences. A history of that kind is truly a chain of causes and effects. The history of Thucydides, and still more that of Tacitus, are shining instances of that mode.

A language in its original poverty, being deficient in strength and variety, has nothing at command for enforcing a thought but to redouble the expression. Instances are without number in the Old Testament. "And they say, How doth God know, and is there knowledge in the Most High?" Again, "Thus shalt thou say to the house of Jacob, and tell to the children of Israel." Again, "I will be an enemy unto thine enemies, and an adversary unto thine adversaries." Again, "To know wisdom and instruction, to perceive the words of understanding, to receive the instruction of wisdom" "She layeth her hands to the spindle, and her hands hold the distaff." "Put away from thee a froward mouth, and perverse lips put far from thee. Let thine eyes look right on, and let thine eye-lids look straight before thee."

Eloquence was of a later date than the art of literary composition; for till the latter was improved, there were no models for studying the former. Cicero's oration for Roscius is composed in a style diffuse and highly ornamented; which, says Plutarch, was universally approved, because at that time the style of Asia, introduced into Rome with its luxury, was in high vogue. But Cicero, in a journey to Greece, where he leisurely studied Greek authors, was taught to prune off superfluities, and

to purify his style, which he did to a high degree of refinement. He introduced into his native tongue a sweetness, a grace, a majesty, that surprised the world, and even the Romans themselves. Cicero observes with great regret, that if ambition for power had not drawn Julius Cæsar from the bar to command legions, he would have become the most complete orator in the world. So partial are men to the profession in which they excel. Eloquence triumphs in a popular assembly, makes some figure in a court of law composed of many judges; very little where there is but a single judge, and none at all in a despotic government. Eloquence flourished in the republics of Athens and of Rome; and makes some figure at present in a British house of Commons.

The Greek stage has been justly admired among all polite nations. The tragedies of Sophocles and Euripides in particular are by all critics held to be perfect in their kind, excellent models for imitation, but far above rivalry. If the Greek stage was so early brought to maturity, it is a phenomenon not a little singular in the progress of arts. The Greek tragedy made a rapid progress from Thespes to Sophocles and Euripides, whose compositions are, indeed, the most complete that ever were exhibited in Greece: but whether they be really such master-pieces as is generally thought, will admit of some doubt. The subject is curious: and I hope the candid reader will give attention to what follows.

No human voice could fill the Greek theatre, which was so spacious as to contain several thousands without crowding. A brass pipe was invented to strengthen the voice; but that invention suppressed the melody of pronunciation, by confining the voice to harsh monotony. The pipe was not the only unpleasant circumstance: every actor wore a mask; for what end or purpose, is not explained. It may be true, that the expressions of the countenance

tenance could not be distinctly seen by those who occupied the back rows ; and a mask possibly was thought necessary in order to put all the citizens upon a level. But without prying into the cause, let us only figure an actor with a mask and a pipe. He may represent tolerably a simple incident or plain thought, such as are the materials of an Italian opera ; but the voice, countenance, and gestures, are indispensable in expressing refined sentiments, and the more delicate tones of passion.

Where then lies the charm in ancient tragedies that captivated all ranks of men ? Greek tragedies are more active than sentimental : they contain many sensible reflections on morals, manners, and upon life in general ; but no sentiments except what are plain and obvious. The subjects are of the simplest kind, such as give rise to the passions of hope, fear, love, hatred, envy, and revenge, in their most ordinary exertions : no intricate nor delicate situation to occasion any singular emotion ; no gradual swelling and subsiding of passion ; and seldom any conflict between different passions. I would not, however, be understood as meaning to depreciate Greek tragedies. They are, indeed, wonderful productions of genius, considering that the Greeks at that period were but beginning to emerge from roughness and barbarity into a taste for literature. The compositions of Eschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides, must have been highly relished among a people who had no idea of any thing more perfect. We judge by comparison, and every work is held to be perfect that has no rival. It ought at the same time to be kept in view, that it was not the dialogue which chiefly enchanted the Athenians, nor variety in the passions represented, nor perfection in the actors, but machinery and pompous decoration, joined with exquisite music. That these particulars were car-

ried to the greatest height, we may with certainty conclude from the extravagant sums bestow'd on them: the exhibiting a single tragedy was more expensive to the Athenians than their fleet or their army in any single campaign.

One would imagine, however, that these compositions were too simple to enchant for ever; as variety in action, sentiment, and passion is requisite, without which the stage will not continue long a favourite entertainment: and yet we find not a single improvement attempted after the days of Sophocles and Euripides. This may appear a matter of wonder at first view. But the wonder vanishes upon considering, that the manner of performance prevented absolutely any improvement. A fluctuation of passion and refined sentiments would have made no figure on the Grecian stage. Imagine the discording scene between Brutus and Cassius in *Julius Cæsar* to be there exhibited, or the handkerchief in the *Moor of Venice*: how slight would be their effect, when pronounced in a mask, and through a pipe? The workings of nature upon the countenance, and the flexions of voice expressive of various feelings, so deeply affecting in modern representation, would have been entirely lost. If a great genius had arisen with talents for composing a pathetic tragedy in perfection, he would have made no figure in Greece. An edifice must have been erected of a moderate size: new actors must have been trained to act with a bare face, and to pronounce in their own voice. And after all there remained a greater miracle still to be performed, viz. a total reformation of taste in the people of Athens. In one word, the simplicity of the Greek tragedy was suited to the manner of acting; and that manner excluded all improvements.

From these premisses an inference may with certainty be drawn, that delicacy of taste and feeling were

were but faintly known among the Greeks, even when they made the greatest figure. Music, indeed, may be successfully employ'd in a sentimental tragedy; but pomp and splendor of performance avail nothing. A spectator deeply affected is regardless of decoration. I appeal to the reproving scene between Hamlet and the Queen his mother: does any man of taste bestow the slightest attention on the beauty of the scenery? It would, however, be rash to involve in the same censure every Athenian. Do not pantomime-show, rope-dancing, and other such fashionable spectacles, draw multitudes from the deepest tragedies? And yet among us there are persons of taste not a few, who despise such spectacles as fit only for the mob, persons who never bow'd the knee to Baal. And if there were such persons in Athens, of which we have no reason to doubt, it proves the superiority of their taste; they had no example of more refined compositions than were exhibited on their stage; we have many.

With respect to comedy, it does not appear that the Greek comedy surpassed the tragedy in its progress toward perfection. Horace mentions three stages of Greek comedy. The first was well suited to the rough and coarse manners of the Greeks, when Eupolis, Cratinus, and Aristophanes wrote. These authors were not ashamed to represent on the stage real persons, not even disguising their names; of which we have a striking instance in a comedy of Aristophanes called *The Clouds*, where Socrates is introduced, and most contemptuously treated. This sort of comedy, sparing neither gods nor men, was restrained by the magistrates of Athens, so far as to prohibit persons to be named on the stage. This led writers to do what is done at present: the characters and manners of known persons were painted so much to the life, that there could be no mistake; and the satire was indeed heightened by

this regulation; as it was an additional pleasure to find out the names that were meant in the representation. This was termed the middle comedy. But as there still remained too great scope for obloquy and licentiousness, a law was made prohibiting real events or incidents to be introduced upon the stage. This law happily banished satire against individuals, and confined it to manners and customs in general. Obedient to this law are the comedies of Menander, Philemon, and Diphilus, who flourished about 300 years before the Christian æra. And this is termed the third stage of Greek comedy. The comedies of Aristophanes, which still remain, err not less against taste than against decency. But we have good ground to believe, that the Greek comedy was considerably refined by Menander and his cotemporaries; and we must rely upon collateral evidence, because we have very few remains of their works. Their works, however, were far from perfection, if we can draw any conjecture from their imitator Plautus, who wrote about a century later. Plautus was a writer of genius; and it may be reasonably supposed that his copies did not fall much short of the originals, at least in matters that can be faithfully copied; and he shows very little art, either in his compositions, or in the conduct of his pieces. With respect to the former, his plots are wondrous simple, very little varied, and very little interesting. The subject of almost every piece is a young man in love with a music-girl, desiring to purchase her from the procurer, and employing a favourite slave to cheat his father out of the price; and the different ways of accomplishing the cheat is all the variety we find. In some few of his comedies the story rises to a higher tone, the music-girl being discovered to be the daughter of a free man, which removes every obstruction to a marriage between her and her lover.

In the conduct of his pieces there is a miserable defect of art. Instead of unfolding the subject in the progress of the action, as is done by Terence, and by every modern writer, Plautus introduces a person for no other end but to explain the story to the audience. In one of his comedies, a household-god is so obliging as not only to unfold the subject, but to relate before-hand every particular that is to be represented, not excepting the catastrophe. Did not Plautus know, that it is pleasant to have our curiosity raised about what will happen next? In the course of the action, persons are frequently introduced who are heard talking to themselves on the open street. One would imagine the Greeks to have been great babblers, when they could not refrain soliloquies even in public. Could Plautus have been so artless in the conduct of his pieces, had a more perfect model been exhibited to him by Menander or the other authors mentioned?

It is observed, in *Elements of Criticism* (u), that when a language begins to receive some polish, and the meaning of words is tolerably ascertained, then it is that a play of words comes to be relished. At that period of the Roman language Plautus wrote. His wit consists almost entirely in a play of words, an eternal jingle, words brought together that have nearly the same sound, with different meanings, and words of different sounds that have the same meaning. As the Greek language had arrived to its perfection many years before, such false wit may be justly ascribed to Plautus himself, not to the Greeks from whom he copied. What was the period of that bastard wit in Greece, I know not; but it appears not to have been antiquated in Homer's days, witness the joke in the *Odyssæy*, where Ulysses imposed upon Polyphemus by calling

(u) Chap. 13.

himself

himself Houtis or No-man. Nor seems it to have been antiquated in the days of Euripides, who in his *Cyclops* repeats the same silly joke. The Roman genius soon purged their compositions of such infantine beauties; for in Terence, who wrote about fifty years later than Plautus, there is scarce a vestige of them. The dialogue beside of Terence is more natural and correct, not a word but to the purpose: Plautus is full of tautologies, and digressions very little to the purpose. In a word, considering the slow progress of arts, the Roman theatre, from the time of Plautus to that of Terence, made as rapid a progress as perhaps ever happened in any country. Aristotle defines comedy to be an imitation of light and trivial subjects provoking laughter. The comedies of Plautus correspond accurately to that definition: those of Terence rise to a higher tone.

Beside the disadvantages of the mask and pipe mentioned above, there are two causes that tended to keep back the Greek and Roman comedy from the perfection of its kind. The first is the slow progress of society among these nations, occasioned by debarring the female sex from it. Without a mixture of the two sexes society can never arrive at any degree of refinement, not to talk of perfection. That mixture brings to light every latent talent and every variety of character. To judge from ancient writers, man was a very plain being. Tacitus wrote when society between the sexes was abundantly free; and in no author before him is to be found any thing beyond the outlines of character. In ancient comedies there are misers, lovers, parasites, procurers; but the individuals of each class are cast in the same mould. In the *Rudens* of Plautus, it is true, a miser is painted with much anxiety about his hidden treasure, every trifling incident being converted by him into a cause of suspicion;

suspicion; but he is still the same miser that is painted by others, without any shade or singularity in the character. Homer is the only ancient that deserves to be excepted: his heroes have all courage; but courage in each is clearly of a different kind. Knowledge of an endless variety of character in the human species, acquired from unrestrained society, has enabled the moderns to enrich the theatre with new characters without end. What else is it but defect of knowledge in the dispositions of men that has confined Plautus and Terence, like the Italian comedy, to a very few characters?

Nothing is more evident than the superiority of Terence above Plautus in the art of writing; and considering that Terence is a later writer, nothing would appear more natural, if they did not copy the same originals. It may be owing to genius that Terence excell'd in purity of language, and propriety of dialogue; but how account for his superiority over Plautus in the construction and conduct of a play? It will not certainly be thought, that Plautus would imitate the worst-constructed plays, leaving the best to those who should come after him. This difficulty has not occurred to any of the commentators, so far as I can recollect. Had the works of Menander and of his cotemporaries been preserved, they probably would have explained the mystery; which for want of that light will probably remain a mystery for ever.

Homer has for more than two thousand years been held the prince of poets. Such perfection in an author who flourished when arts were far short of maturity, is surprising, is miraculous. An author of genius (*) has endeavoured to account for this extraordinary phenomenon; and I willingly acknowledge, that he has exerted much industry,

(*) Essay on the Life and Writings of Homer.

as well as invention; but, in my apprehension, without giving much satisfaction. The new light that is thrown above upon the Greek theatre has encouraged me to attempt a criticism on the *Iliad*, in order to judge whether Homer has so far anticipated the ordinary progress of nature, as, in a very early period, to have arrived at the perfection of his art.

To form a good writer, genius and judgment must concur. Nature supplies the former; but to the latter instruction and imitation are essential. Shakespeare lived in an age that afforded him little opportunity to cultivate or improve his judgment; and though inimitable in every article that depends on genius, there are found many defects in the conduct of his plays, and in other particulars that require judgment ripened by experience. Homer lived in a rude age, little advanced in useful arts, and still less in civilization and enlarged benevolence. The nations engaged in the Trojan war are described by him as in a progress from the shepherd-state to that of agriculture. Frequent mention is made in the *Iliad* of the most eminent men being shepherds. Andromaché, in particular, mentions (y) seven of her brethren who were slain by Achilles as they tended their father's flocks and herds. In that state, garments of woollen cloth were used; but the skins of beasts, the original clothing, were still worn as an upper garment: every chief in the *Iliad* appears in that dress. Such, indeed, was the simplicity of this early period, that a black ewe was promised by each chief to the man who would undertake to be a spy. In times of such simplicity, literature could not be far advanced; and it is a great doubt, whether there was at that time a single poem of the

(y) Book 6.

epic kind for Homer to imitate or improve upon. Homer is undoubtedly a wonderful genius, perhaps the greatest that ever existed: his fire, and the boldness of his conceptions, are inimitable. But in that early age, it would fall little short of a real miracle, to find such ripeness of judgment, and correctness of execution, as in modern writers are the fruits of long experience, and progressive improvements, during the course of many centuries. Homer is far from being so ripe, or so correct. I shall mention but two or three particulars; for to dwell upon the imperfections of so eminent an author is not pleasant. The first is, that he reduces his heroes to be little better than puppets. Not one of them performs an action of eclat, but with the assistance of some deity: even Achilles himself is every where aided by superior powers. It is Jupiter who inspires Hector with boldness to perform the illustrious actions that are so finely described in the 15th book; and it is Jupiter, who, changing sides, fills his heart with dismay. Glaucus, desperately wounded, supplicates Apollo, is miraculously healed, and returns to the battle perfectly sound. Hector, struck to the ground with a stone, and at the point of giving up the ghost, is cured by Apollo, and sent back to the battle with redoubled vigour. Homer resembles a sect of Christians, who hold, that a man can do nothing of himself, but that God does all. Can Homer's admirers be so blind as not to perceive, that this sort of machinery detracts from the dignity of his heroes, renders them less interesting, and less worthy of admiration? Homer, however, is deservedly such a favourite, that we are prone to admit any excuse. In days of ignorance, people are much addicted to the marvellous. Homer himself, it may be justly supposed, was infected with that weakness; and he certainly

certainly knew that his hearers would be enchanted with every thing wonderful and out of the common course of nature. Another particular is, his digressions without end, which draw our attention from the principal subject. I wish as good an apology could be made for them. Diomedes (*z*), for instance, meeting with Glaucus in the field of battle, and doubting, from his majestic air, whether he might not be an immortal, enquires who he was, declaring that he would not fight with a god. Glaucus lays hold of this very slight opportunity, in the very heat of action, to give a long history of his family. In the mean time, the reader's patience is put to a trial, and his ardor cools. Agamemnon (*a*) desiring advice how to resist the Trojans, Diomedes springs forward; but before he offers advice, gives the history of all his progenitors, and of their characters, in a long train. And, after all, what was the sage advice that required such a preface? It was, that Agamemnon should exhort the Greeks to fight bravely. At any rate, was Diomedes so little known, as to make it proper to suspend the action at so critical a juncture for a genealogical history? There is a third particular, which justly merits censure; and that is, an endless number of minute circumstances, especially in the description of battles, where they are the most improper. One capital beauty of an epic poem is, the selection of such incidents and circumstances as make a deep impression, keeping out of view every thing low or familiar (*b*). An account of a single battle employs the whole fifth book of the Iliad, and a great part of the sixth: yet in the whole there is no general

(*z*) Book 6.

(*a*) Book 14.

(*b*) Elements of Criticism, vol. I. p. 232. edit. 5.

action; but unknown warriors, whom we never heard of before, killed at a distance with an arrow or a javelin; and every wound described with anatomical accuracy. The whole seventeenth book is employed in the contest about the dead body of Patroclus, stuffed with minute circumstances, below the dignity of an epic poem. In such scenes the reader is fatigued with endless particulars; and has nothing to support him but the melody of Homer's versification. Gratitude would prompt one to apologize for an author who affords so much pleasure: the only apology I can think of for the particulars last-mentioned is, that Homer had no good models to copy after; and that without good models it is in vain to expect maturity of judgment. In a word, Homer was a blazing star, and the more to be admired, because he blazed in an obscure age. But that he should in no degree be tainted with the imperfections of such an age is a wild thought: it is scarce possible, but by supposing him to be more than man.

Particular causes that advance the progress of fine arts, as well as of useful arts, are mentioned in the first part of this Sketch, and to these I refer.

Having traced the progress of the fine arts toward maturity in a summary way, the decline of these arts comes next in order. An art, in its progress toward maturity, is greatly promoted by emulation; and, after arriving at maturity, its downfall is not less promoted by it. It is difficult to judge of perfection but by comparison; and an artist, ambitious to outstrip his predecessors, cannot submit to be an imitator, but must strike out something new, which, in an art advanced to ripeness, seldom fails to be a degeneracy. This cause of the decline of the fine arts, I shall endeavour to illustrate by various instances. The perfection of vocal music is to accompany passion, and
to

to enforce sentiment. In ancient Greece, the province of music was well understood; which, being confined within its proper sphere, had an enchanting influence. Harmony at that time was very little cultivated, because it was of very little use: melody reaches the heart, and it is by it chiefly that a sentiment is enforced, or a passion soothed: harmony, on the contrary, reaches the ear only: and it is a matter of undoubted experience, that the most melodious airs admit but of very simple harmony. Artists, in later times, ignorant why harmony was so little regarded by the ancients, applied themselves seriously to its cultivation; and they had been wonderfully successful. But they have been successful at the expence of melody; which, in modern compositions, generally speaking, is lost amid the blaze of harmony. These compositions tickle the ear by the luxury of complicated sounds, but make seldom any impression on the heart. The Italian opera, in its form, resembles the Greek tragedy, from which it is evidently copied; but very little in substance. In the latter, music being made subservient to sentiment, the dialogue is nervous and sublime: in the former the whole weight is laid on music, and the dialogue, devoid of sentiment, is weak and spiritless. Restless man knows no golden mean, but will be attempting innovations without end*. By the same ambition, architecture has visibly declined from its perfection. The Ionic was the favourite order when architecture was in its height of glory. The Corinthian order

* Corelli excels all the other moderns in combining harmony with melody. His melody could not be richer, without impoverishing the harmony; and his harmony could not be richer, without impoverishing the melody. And, therefore, if harmony is requisite in any considerable degree, the productions of that author may be pronounced perfect.

came

came next ; which, in attempting greater perfection, has deviated from the true simplicity of nature ; and the deviation is still greater in the Composite order (c). With respect to literary productions, the first essays of the Romans were very imperfect. We may judge of this from Plautus, whose compositions are abundantly rude, tho' much admired by his cotemporaries, being the best that existed at that time. The exalted spirit of the Romans hurried them on to the grand and beautiful ; and literary productions of all kinds were in perfection when Augustus reigned. In attempting still greater perfection, the Roman compositions became a strange jumble of inconsistent parts ; they were tumid and pompous, and, at the same time, full of antitheses, conceit, and tinsel wit. Every thing new in the fine arts pleases, though less perfect than what we are accustomed to ; and, for that reason, such compositions were generally relished. We see not by what gradual steps writers, after the time of Augustus, deviated from the patterns that were before them ; for no book of any moment after that time is preserved, till we come down to Seneca, in whose works nature and simplicity give place to artificial thought and bastard wit. He was a great corrupter of the Roman taste ; and after him nothing was relished but brilliant strokes of fancy, with very little regard to sentiment : even Virgil and Cicero made no figure in comparison. Lucan has a forced elevation of thought and style, very difficult to be supported ; and, accordingly, he sinks often into puerile reflections ; witness, his encomium on the river Po, which, says he, would equal the Danube, had it the same number of tributary streams. Quintilian, a writer of true and classical taste, who was protected and

(c) Elements of Criticism, vol. 1. p. 206. edit. 5.
encouraged

encouraged by Vespasian, attempted to stem the tide of false writing. His rhetoric is composed in an elegant style; and his observations contain every delicacy of the critical art. At the same time flourished Tacitus, possessing a more extensive knowledge of the nature of man, than any other author, ancient or modern, if Shakespeare be not excepted. His style is original, concise, compact, and comprehensive; and, in what is properly called his history, perfectly correct and beautiful. He has been imitated by several, but never equalled by any. Brutus is said to be the last of the Romans for love of liberty: Quintilian and Tacitus may be said to be the last of the Romans for literary genius. Pliny the Younger is no exception: his style is affected, turgid, and full of childish brilliancy. Seneca and Pliny are proper examples of writers who study show more than substance, and who make sense yield to sound. The difference between these authors and those of the Augustan age resembles the difference between Greek and Italian music. Music, among the Greeks limited itself to the employment to which it is destined by nature, viz. to be the handmaid of sense, to enforce, enliven, or sweeten a sentiment. In the Italian opera, the mistress is degraded to be the handmaid; and harmony triumphs, with very little regard to sentiment.

Another great cause that precipitates the downfall of every fine art is despotism. The reason is obvious; and there is a dismal example of it in Rome, particularly with regard to eloquence. We learn from a dialogue accounting for the corruption of the Roman eloquence, that in the decline of the art it became fashionable to stuff harangues with impertinent poetical quotations, without any view but ornament merely; and this also was long fashionable in France. It happened unluckily for the

the Romans, and for the world, that the fine arts were at their height in Rome, and not much upon the decline in Greece, when despotism put an end to the republic. Augustus, it is true, retarded their fall, particularly that of literature; it being the politic of his reign to hide despotism, and to give his government an air of freedom. His court was a school of urbanity, where people of genius acquired that delicacy of taste, that elevation of sentiment, and that purity of expression, which characterize the writers of his time. He honoured men of learning, admitted them to his table, and was bountiful to them. It would be painful to follow the decline of the fine arts in Rome to their total extirpation. The tyranny of Tiberius, and of subsequent emperors, broke at last the elevated and independent spirit of the brave Romans, reduced them to abject slavery, and left not a spark of genius *. The science of law is the

* A singular persecution was carried on by Pope Gregory, most improperly surnamed the Great, against the works of Cicero, Titus Livius, and Cornelius Tacitus, which in every corner of Christendom were publicly burnt; and from that time there has not been seen a complete copy of any of these authors. This happened in the sixth century: so soon had the Romans fallen, from the perfection of taste and knowledge, to the most humbling barbarity. Nor was that the only persecution of books on the score of religion. Many centuries before, a similar instance happened in China, directed by a foolish emperor. The Alexandrian library was twice consumed by fire, once in the time of Julius Cæsar, and once in the time of the Calif Omar: what a profusion of knowledge was lost past redemption! And yet, upon the whole, it seems doubtful, whether the moderns have suffered by these events. At what corner of a library shall a man begin, where he sees an infinity of books, choice ones too? Even the most resolute would be deterred from reading at all,

only

only exception, as it flourished even in the worst of times: the Roman lawyers were a respectable body, and less the object of jealousy than men of power and extensive landed property. Among the Greeks also, a conquered people, the fine arts decayed; but not so rapidly as at Rome; the Greeks, farther removed from the seat of government, being less within the reach of a Roman tyrant. During their depression, they were guilty of the most puerile conceits; witness, verses composed in the form of an axe, an egg, wings, and such like. The style of Greek authors in the reign of the Emperor Adrian is unequal, obscure, stiff, and affected. Lucian is the only exception I am acquainted with.

We need scarce any other cause but despotism to account for the decline of statuary and painting in Greece. These arts had arrived at their utmost perfection about the time of Alexander the Great; and from that time they declined gradually with the vigour of a free people; for Greece was now enslaved by the Macedonian power. It may in general be observed, that when a nation becomes stationary in that degree of power which it acquires from its constitution and situation, the national spirit subsides, and men of talents become rare. It is still worse with a nation that is sunk below its former power and pre-eminence; and worst of all when it is reduced to slavery. Other causes concurred to accelerate the downfall of the arts mentioned. Greece, in the days of Alexander, was filled with statues of excellent workmanship; and there being little demand for more, the later statuaries were reduced to heads and busts. At last the Romans put a total end both to statuary and painting in Greece, by plundering it of its finest pieces; and the Greeks, exposed to the avarice of the conquerors, bestow'd no longer any money on the fine arts. Winckel-
man,

man, overlooking the causes mentioned, borrows from Velleius Paterculus a reason for the decline of the fine arts in Greece, not a little ridiculous.

“Naturaque, quod summo studio petitum est, ascendit in summum; difficilisque in perfecto mora est; naturaliterque, quod procedere non potest, recedit (e).” “The idea (says Winckel- man) of beauty could not be made more perfect; and those arts which could not advance farther, become retrograde, by a fatality attending all human things, viz. that if they cannot mount, they must fall down, because stability is not a quality of any created thing.”

The decline of the fine arts in Rome is by a writer of taste and elegance ascribed to a cause different from any above mentioned, a cause that overwhelms manhood as well as the fine arts where-ever it prevails; and that is opulence, joined with its faithful attendants avarice and luxury. It would be doing injustice to that author to refuse him in his native language. “Priscis temporibus, quum ad- huc nuda virtus placeret, vigeabant artes ingenuæ; summumque certamen inter homines erat, ne quid profuturum seculis diu lateret. Itaque, Hercules! omnium herbarum succos Democritus expressit: et ne lapidum virgultorumque vis lateret, ætatem inter experimenta consumpsit. Eudoxus quidem in cacumine excelsissimi montis consenuit, ut astrorum cœlique motus deprehen- deret: et Chrysippus, ut ad inventionem suffici- ret, ter helleboro animum deterisit. Verum ut ad plastas convertar, Lysippum statuæ unius lineamentis inhærentem inopia extinxit: et My- ron, qui penè hominum animas ferarumque ære comprehenderat, non invenit heredem. At nos, vino scortisque demersi, ne paratas quidem artes

(e) Roman History, lib. i.

" audemus cognoscere ; sed accusatores antiquita-
 " tis, vitia tantum docemus, et discimus. Ubi est
 " dialectica ? ubi astronomia ? ubi sapientiæ con-
 " sultissima via ? Quis unquam venit in templum,
 " et votum fecit si ad eloquentiam pervenisset ?
 " quis, si philosophiæ fontem invenisset ? Ac ne
 " bonam quidem mentem, aut bonam valetudinem
 " petunt : sed statim, antequam limen capitoli
 " tangunt, alius donum promittit si propinquum
 " divitem extulerit ; alius, si thesaurum effoderit ;
 " alius, si ad trecenties H. S. salvus pervenerit.
 " Ipse senatus, recti bonique præceptor, mille
 " pondo auri capitolio promittere solet : et ne quis
 " dubitet pecuniam concupiscere, Jovem quoque
 " peculio exorat. Noli ergo mirari, si pictura
 " defecit, quum omnibus diis hominibusque for-
 " mosior videatur massa auri, quam quicquid
 " Apelles Phidiasve fecerunt (f)*." In England,
 the

(f) Petronius Arbitr.

* " In ancient times, when naked virtue had her ad-
 " mirers, the liberal arts were in their highest vigour ;
 " and there was a generous contest among men, that
 " nothing of real and permanent advantage should long
 " remain undiscovered. Democritus extracted the juice
 " of every herb and plant, and, lest the virtue of a single
 " stone or twig should escape him, he consumed a life-
 " time in experiments. Eudæus, immersed in the stu-
 " dy of astronomy, spent his age upon the top of a
 " mountain. Chrysippus, to stimulate his inventive
 " faculty, thrice purified his genius with helletore. To
 " turn to the imitative arts : Lyfippus, while labouring
 " on the forms of a single statue, perished from want.
 " Myron, whose powerful hand gave to the brass almost
 " the soul of man, and animals,—at his death found
 " not an heir ! Of us of modern times what shall we
 " say ? Immersed in drunkenness and debauchery, we
 " want the spirit to cultivate those arts which we pos-
 " sess. We inveigh against the manners of antiquity ;

summus

" we

the fine arts are far from such perfection as to suffer by opulence. They are in a progress, it is true, toward maturity; but, gardening alone excepted, they proceed in a very slow pace.

There is a particular cause that never fails to undermine a fine art in a country where it is brought to perfection, abstracting from every one of the causes above mentioned. In the first part of the present sketch it is remarked, that nothing is more fatal to an art or to a science than a performance so much superior to all of the kind as to extinguish emulation. This remark is exemplified in the great Newton, who, having surpassed all the ancients, has not left to his countrymen even the faintest hope of rivalling him; and to that cause is attributed the visible decline of mathematics in Great Britain. The same cause would have been fatal to the arts

" we study vice alone; and vice is all we teach. Where
 " now is the art of reasoning? where astronomy?
 " where is the right path of wisdom? What man now-
 " a-days is heard in our temples to make a vow for the
 " attainment of eloquence, or for the discovery of the
 " fountain of true philosophy? Nor do we even pray
 " for health of body, or a sound understanding. One,
 " while he has scarce entered the porch of the temple,
 " devotes a gift in the event of the death of a rich rela-
 " tion; another prays for the discovery of a treasure;
 " a third for a ministerial fortune. The senate itself,
 " the exemplary preceptor of what is good and laudable,
 " has promised a thousand pounds of gold to the capi-
 " tol; and, to remove all reproach from the crime of
 " avarice, has offered a bribe to Jupiter himself. How
 " should we wonder that the art of painting has declined,
 " when, in the eyes both of the gods and men, there is
 " more beauty in a mass of gold, than in all the works
 " of Phidias and Apelles?"

of statuary and painting among the Greeks, even tho' they had continued a free people. The decay of painting in modern Italy is, probably, owing to the same cause: Michael Angelo, Raphael, Titian, &c. are lofty oaks that bear down young plants in their neighbourhood, and intercept from them the sunshine of emulation. Had the art of painting made a slower progress in Italy, it might have there continued in vigour to this day. Velleius Paterculus says judiciously, "*Ut primo ad consequendos quos priores ducimus accendimur; ita, ubi aut præteriri aut æquari eos posse desperavimus, studium cum spe senescit; et quod adsequi non potest, sequi desinit: præteritoque eo in quo eminere non possumus, aliquid in quo nitamur conquirimus **."

The decline of an art or science proceeding from the foregoing cause, is the most rapid where a strict comparison can be instituted between the works of different masters. The superiority of Newton above every other mathematician can be ascertained with precision; and hence the sudden decline of that science in Great Britain. In Italy a talent for painting continued many years in vigour, because no painter appeared with such superiority of genius as to carry perfection into every branch of the art. As one surpassed in designing, one in colouring, one in graceful attitudes, there was still scope for emulation. But when at last there was not a single perfection but what one or other master had excelled in, from

* "As at first we are excited to emulate those superior or models, so when once we have lost the hope of excelling, or even of equalling them, our ambition fails us with our hopes: we cease to pursue what we cannot attain, and neglecting that study in which we are debarred from arriving at excellence, we search for a different field of emulation."

that

that period the art began to languish. Architecture continued longer in vigour than painting, because the principles of comparison in the former are less precise than in the latter. The artist who could not rival his predecessors in an established mode, sought out a new mode for himself, which, tho' perhaps less elegant or perfect, was for a time supported by novelty.

Corruption of the Latin tongue makes a proper appendix to the decline of the fine arts in Rome. That the Latin tongue did not long continue in purity after the Emperor Augustus, is certain; and all writers agree, that the cause of its early corruption was a continual influx into Rome of men to whom the Latin was a foreign language. The reason is plausible; but whether solid may justly be doubted. In all countries there are provincial dialects; which, however, tend not to corrupt the language of the capital, because they are carefully avoided by all who pretend to speak properly; and accordingly the multitude of provincials who flock to Paris and London have no effect to debase the language. The same probably was the case in old Rome, especially with respect to strangers, whose native tongue was totally different from that of Rome: their imperfect manner of speaking Latin might be excused, but certainly was not imitated. Slaves in Rome had little conversation with their masters, except in receiving orders or reproof; which had no tendency to vitiate the Latin tongue. The corruption of that tongue, and at last its death and burial, as a living language, were the result of two combined causes; of which the early prevalence of the Greek language in Rome is the first. Latin was native to the Romans only, and to the inhabitants of Latium. The languages of the rest of Italy were numerous: the Messapian was the mother-tongue

in Aupulia, the Hetruscan in Tuscany and Umbria, the Greek in Magna Græcia, the Celtic in Lombardy and Liguria, &c. &c. Latin had arrived at its purity not many years before the reign of Augustus ; and had not taken deep root in those parts of Italy where it was not the mother-tongue, when Greek came to be the fashionable language among people of rank, as French is in Europe at present. Greek, the storehouse of learning, prevailed in Rome, even in Cicero's time ; of which he himself bears testimony in his oration for the poet Arachias, "*Græca leguntur in omnibus fere gentibus : Latina suis finibus, exquis sane, continentur.*" And for that reason Atticus is warmly solicited by him to write the history of his consulship in Greek. Thus Latin, jostled by Greek out of its place, was left to inferiors ; and, probably, would have sunk to utter oblivion, even though the republic had continued in vigour. But the chief cause was the despotism of the Roman government, which proved the destruction of the fine arts, and of literature in particular. In a country of so many different languages the Latin tongue could not be preserved in purity, but by a constant perusal of Roman classics : but these were left to rot in libraries, a dark cloud of ignorance having overspread the whole empire. Every person carelessly spoke the language acquired in the nursery ; and people of different tongues being mixed under one government, without a common standard, fell gradually into a sort of mixed language, which every one made a shift to understand. The irruption of many barbarous nations into Italy, several of whom settled there, added to the jargon. And that jargon, composed of many heterogeneous parts, was, in process of time, purified to the tongue that is now native to all the inhabitants of Italy.

In a history of the Latin tongue, it ought not to be overlooked, that it continued long in purity among the Roman lawyers. The science of law was in Rome more cultivated than in any other country. The books writ upon that science in Latin were numerous; and, being highly regarded, were the constant study of every man who aspired to be an eminent lawyer. Neither could such men have any bias to the Greek tongue, as law was little cultivated in Greece. Thus it happened, that the Latin tongue, so far as concerns law, was preserved in purity, even to the time of the Emperor Justinian.

Greek was preserved in purity much longer than Latin. The same Language was spoken through all Greece, with some slight varieties in dialect. It was brought to great perfection and firmly rooted during the prosperous days of Greece. Its classics were numerous, and the study of every person who pretended to literature *. Now, tho' the free and manly spirit of the Greeks yielded to Roman despotism, yet while any appetite for literature remained, their invaluable classics were a standard, which preserved the language in purity. But ignorance at length became universal, and the Greek classics ceased to be a standard, being buried in libraries, as the Roman classics had been for centuries. In that state, the Greek tongue could not fail to degenerate, among an ignorant and servile people, who had no longer any ambition to act well, write well, or speak well. And yet, after all, that beautiful tongue, far beyond arival, has suffered less alteration than any other ever did in similar circumstances; one cause of which is, that to this day the Greeks live sepa-

* There still remain about three thousand Greek books: of Latin books not above sixty.

rate from their masters the Turks, and have little commerce with them.

From the fate of the Latin tongue, an observation is drawn by many writers, that all languages are in a continual flux, changing from age to age without end. And such as are fond of fame, deplore it as a heavy misfortune, that the language in which they write will soon become obsolete and unintelligible. But it is a common error in reasoning, to found a general conclusion upon a single fact. In its progress toward perfection, a language is continually improving, and therefore continually changing. But supposing a language to have acquired its utmost perfection, I see nothing that should necessarily occasion any change: on the contrary, the classical books in that language become a standard for writing and speaking, to which every man of taste and figure conforms himself. Such was the case of the Greek tongue, till that people were brutified by despotism: the Italian has continued in perfection more than three centuries, and the French more than one. The English language has not yet acquired all the purity it is susceptible of: but when there is no place for further improvements, there seems little doubt of its becoming stationary, like the languages now mentioned. I bar always such a revolution as eradicates knowledge, and reduces a people to a state of barbarity. In an event so dismal, the destruction of classical books, and of a pure language, will not be the chief calamity: they will be little regretted in the universal wreck. In the mean time, to a writer of genius in a polished nation it cannot but be a charming prospect, that his works will stand and fall with his country. To make such a writer exert his talents for purifying his mother-tongue, and for adding to the number and reputation of its classics,

sics, what nobler encitement, than the certainty of being transmitted to posterity, and welcomed by every person of taste through all ages !

As, before the invention of printing, writers could have nothing in view but reputation and praise, they endeavoured to give the utmost perfection to their compositions. They at the same time studied brevity, in order that their works might be diffused through many hands ; for the expence of transcribing great volumes could not be afforded by every reader. The art of printing has made a great change : the opportunity it furnishes to multiply copies has degraded writing to be a lucrative employment. Authors now study to swell their works, in order to swell the price ; and being in a hurry for money, they neglect the precept of Horace, *Nonum prematur in annum*. Take for example the natural history of Aldrovandus, in many folio volumes. After filling his common-place book with passages from every author, ancient and modern, to the purpose and not to the purpose, he sits down to compose, bent to transfuse into his book every article thus painfully collected. For example, when he introduces the ox, the cock, or any other animal ; far from confining himself to its natural history, he omits nothing that has been said of it in books where it has been occasionally introduced, not even excepting tales for amusing children : he mentions all the superstitious notions concerning it, every poetical comparison drawn from it, the use it has served in hieroglyphics and in coats-armorial ; in a word, all the histories and all the fables in which it has been named. Take another instance from a German or Dutch chronologer, whose name has escaped me, and which I give in a translation from the Latin, to prevent the bias that one has for a learned language. “ Samson was the same with
“ the Theban Hercules ; which appears from the

" actions attributed to each of them, especially
 " from the following, That Hercules, unarmed, is
 " said to have suffocated the Nemean lion with a
 " squeeze of his arms: Samson unarmed did the
 " same, by tearing a lion to pieces; and Josephus
 " says, that he did not tear the lion, but put out
 " his breath with a squeeze; which could be done,
 " and was done by Scutileus the wrestler, as re-
 " ported by Suidas. David also, unarmed, tore
 " to pieces a lion, 1 Samuel, chap. xvii.; and
 " Benaiah the son of Jehojada also slew a lion,
 " 2 Samuel, chap. xxiii. ver. 20. Moreover we
 " read, that Samson, having caught three hundred
 " foxes, tied lighted firebrands to their tails, and
 " drove them into the standing corn of the Philis-
 " tines, by which both the shocks and standing
 " corn, with the vineyards and olives, were burnt
 " up. Many think it incredible, that three hundred
 " foxes should be caught by one man; as the fox,
 " being the most cunning of all animals, would not
 " suffer itself to be easily taken. Accordingly Op-
 " pian, a Greek poet, who writes upon hunting,
 " asserts, that no fox will suffer itself to be taken in
 " a gin or a net; though we are taught the con-
 " trary by Martial, lib. 10. epig. 37.

" Hic oldium clamorus ager in retia vulpem.

" In India, eagles, hawks, and ravens, are taught
 " to hunt foxes, as we are informed by Olianus,
 " Var. hist. lib. 9. cap. 26. They are also caught
 " by traps and snares, and in covered pits, as wolves
 " are, and other large animals. Nor is it wonder-
 " ful that such a multitude of foxes were caught by
 " Samson, considering that Palestine abounded with
 " foxes. He had hunters without number at com-
 " mand; and he was not confined in time. The
 " fame of that exploit was spread far and near.
 " Even

“ Even among the Romans there were vestiges of
“ it, as appears from Ovid, *Fast.* lib. 9. ver. 681.
“ In one Roman festival, armed foxes were let
“ loose in the Circus; which Ovid, in the place
“ quoted, says, was done in memory of the Carsi-
“ olan fox, which, having destroy’d many hens
“ belonging to a country-woman, was caught by
“ her, and punished as follows. She wrapped up
“ the fox in hay, which she set fire to; and the
“ fox being let go, fled through the standing corn,
“ and set it on fire. There can be no doubt but
“ that this festival was a vestige of Samson’s foxes,
“ not only from congruity of circumstances, but
“ from the time of celebration, which was the
“ month of April, the time of harvest in Palestine.
“ [See more about foxes in Burman’s works.”] Not
to mention the ridiculous arguments of this writer
to prove Samson to be the same with the Theban
Hercules, nor the childish wanderings from that
subject, every one must be sensible of his having
overlooked the chief difficulty. However well fixed
the fire-brands might be, it is not easily conceivable,
that the foxes, who would naturally fly to their
lurking-holes, could much injure the corn, or the
olive trees. And it is as little conceivable, what
should have moved Samson to employ foxes, when,
by our author’s supposition, he had men at com-
mand, much better qualified than foxes for com-
mitting waste. This author would have saved him-
self much idle labour, had he embraced a very
probable opinion, that if the translation be not er-
roneous, the original text must be corrupted. But
enough, and more than enough, of these writers.
Maturity of taste has banished such absurdities;
and, at present, happily, books are less bulky, and
more to the purpose, than formerly.

It is observed above (a), that in a country thinly peopled, where the same person must, for bread, undertake different employments, the people are knowing and conversable ; but stupid and ignorant in a populous country, where industry and manufactures abound. That observation holds not with respect to the fine arts. It requires so much genius to copy even a single figure, whether in painting or in sculpture, as to prevent the operator from degenerating into a brute. The great exertion of genius, as well as of invention, required in grouping figures, and in imitating human actions, tends to invigorate those faculties with respect to every subject, and, of course, to form a man of parts.

Such sketches of the history of man as tend the most to explain his nature, are chiefly insisted on in this work. The history of music is entertaining, that branch especially which compares ancient and modern music ; and accordingly I have occasionally handled that branch above. The other branches fall not properly within my plan ; because they seem to afford little opening into human nature. There is one article, however, which regard to my native country will not suffer me to omit. We have, in Scotland, a multitude of songs, tender and pathetic, expressive of love in its varieties of hope, fear, success, despondence, and despair. The style of the music is wild and irregular, extremely pleasant to the natives, but little relished by the bulk of those who are accustomed to the regularity of the Italian style. None but men of genius, who study nature, and break loose from the thralldom of custom, esteem that music. It was a favourite of the late Geminiani, whose compositions show no less deli-

(a) First section of the present Sketch.

cacy

cacy of taste, than superiority of genius, and it is warmly praised by Alessandro Tassoni, the celebrated author of *Secchia Rapita*. Discouraging of ancient and modern music, and quoting from various authors the wonderful effects produced by some modern compositions, he subjoins the following passage: "Noi ancora possiamo connumerar trà nostri, Jacopo Rè de Scozia, che non pur cose sacre compose in canto, ma trovò da se stesso una nuova musica lamentevole e mesta, differente da tutte l'altre. Nel che poi è stato imitato da Carlo. Gesualdo Principe di Venosa, che in questa nostra età hà illustrata anch' egli la musica con nuova mirabili invenzioni (b) *."

The king mentioned must be James I. of Scotland, the only one of our kings who seems to have had any remarkable taste in the fine arts; and the music can be no other than the songs mentioned above. These are commonly thought to be the composition of David Rizzio, because he was an Italian and a musician; but erroneously, as we now discover from Tassoni. That King was eminent for poetry, no less than for music. He is praised for the former by Bishop Leslie, one of our historians, in the following words: "*Patrii carminis gloriâ nulli secundus.*" We have many poems ascribed by tradition to that King; one in particular, *Christ's Kirk on the Green*, is a ludicrous poem, describ-

(b) *Pensieri diversi*, lib. 10. cap. 23.

* "We may reckon, among the composers of the moderns, James King of Scotland, who not only composed sacred songs, but was himself the inventor of a new style of music, plaintive and pathetic, different from all others. In this manner of composition he has been imitated in our times by Carlo Gesualdo, Prince of Venosa, who has illustrated that style of music with new and wonderful invention."

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ing low manners, with no less propriety than sprightliness.

Useful arts will never be neglected in a country where there is any police; for every man finds his account in them. Fine arts are more precarious. They are not relished but by persons of taste, who are rare; and such as can spare great sums for supporting them are still more rare. For that reason, they will never flourish in any country, unless patronized by the sovereign, or by men of power and opulence. They merit such patronage as one of the springs of government: and a capital spring they make, by multiplying amusements, and humanizing manners; upon which account they have always been encouraged by good princes.

SKETCH

S K E T C H VI.

Progress of the FEMALE SEX.

THE history of the female sex, a capital branch of the history of man, comprehends great variety of matter, curious and interesting. But sketches are my province, not complete histories; and I propose, in the present sketch, to trace the gradual progress of women, from their low state in savage tribes, to their elevated state in civilized nations.

With regard to the outlines, whether of internal disposition, or of external figure, men and women are precisely the same. Nature, however, intending them for mates, has given them characters different, but concordant, so as to produce together delicious harmony. The man, naturally more robust, is fitted for severe labour and for field-exercises; the woman for sedentary occupations; and particularly for nursing children. To that difference the mind also contributes. A boy is always running about; delights in a top or a ball; and rides upon a stick for want of a horse. A girl has less inclination to move: her first amusement is a baby; which she delights to dress and undress. The man, bold and vigorous, is qualified for being a protector: the woman, delicate and timid, requires protection. The man, as a protector, is directed by nature to govern: the woman, conscious of inferiority, is disposed to obedience. Their intellectual powers correspond to the destination of nature:

men

men have penetration and solid judgment to fit them for governing: women have sufficient understanding to make a decent figure under good government; a greater proportion would excite dangerous rivalry. Add another capital difference of character: the gentle and insinuating manners of the female sex tend to soften the roughness of the other sex; and where-ever women are indulged with any freedom, they polish sooner than men.

These are not the only particulars that distinguish the sexes. With respect to matrimony, it is the privilege of the male, as superior and protector, to make a choice: the female preferred has no privilege, but barely to consent or to refuse. Nature fits them for their different parts: the male is bold, the female bashful. Hence, among all nations, it is the practice for men to court, and for women to be courted: which holds also among many other animals, probably among all that pair.

Another distinction is equally visible: the master of a family is immediately connected with his country: his wife, his children, his servants, are immediately connected with him, and with their country, through him only. Women, accordingly, have less patriotism than men; and less bitterness against the enemies of their country.

The peculiar modesty of the female sex is also a distinguishing circumstance. Nature hath provided them with it as their chief defence against the artful solicitations of the other sex before marriage, and also the chief support of conjugal fidelity. It is held to be their capital virtue; and a woman who surrenders her chastity is universally despised; though in a man chastity is scarce held to be a virtue, except in the married state. But of that more fully afterwards.

A funda-

A fundamental article in the present sketch is, Matrimony; and it has been much controverted, whether it be an appointment of nature, or only of municipal law. Many writers have exercised their talents in that controversy, but without giving any satisfaction to a judicious enquirer. If I mistake not, it may be determined upon solid principles; and as it is of importance in the history of man, the reader, I am hopeful, will not be disgusted at the length of the argument.

Many writers hold, that women were originally common; and animal love was gratified as among horses and horned cattle; and that matrimony was not known till nations grew, in some degree, to be orderly and refined. I select Cicero as an author of authority: "Nam fuit quoddam tempus, cum in agris homines passim, bestiarum more, vagabantur, et sibi victu ferino vitam propagabant: nec ratione animi quicquam sed ple- raque viribus corporis administrabant. Nondum divinæ religionis, non humani officii ratio colebatur. Nemo legitimas viderit nuptias, non certos quisquam inspexerat libros * (a)." Pliny, in support of that doctrine, informs us, that the Garamantes, an African nation, lived promiscuously together, without any notion of matrimony. Among the Auses, a people of Libya, as Herodotus says, matrimony was not known, and men cohabited with women indifferently, like other animals. A boy educated by his mother was, at a certain age,

* "For there was a time, when men, like the brutes, roamed abroad over the earth, and fed, like wild beasts, upon other animals. Then reason bore no sway, but all was ruled by superior strength. The ties of religion, and the obligations of morality, were then unfelt. Lawful marriage was unknown, and no father was certain of his offspring."
(a) De Inventione, lib. 1.

admitted

admitted to an assembly of the men, and the man he clung to was reputed his father. Justin and other authors report, that, before Cecrops, who reigned in Attica about 1600 years before Christ, marriage was not known in Greece; and that the burden of children lay upon the mother.

Before entering directly into the matter, it is proper to remove, if possible, the bias of these great names. The practice of the Garamantes and of the Auses is mentioned by Pliny and Herodotus as singular; and, were it better vouchèd than it is, it would avail very little against the practice of all other nations. Little weight can be laid upon Pliny's evidence in particular, considering what he reports in the same chapter of the Blemmayans, that they had no head, and that the mouth and eyes were in the breast. Pliny, at the same time, as well as Herodotus, being very deficient in natural knowledge, was grossly credulous; and cannot be relied on, with respect to any thing strange or uncommon. As to what is reported of ancient Greece, Cecrops possibly prohibited polygamy, or introduced some other matrimonial regulation, which, by writers, might be mistaken for a law appointing matrimony. However that be, one part of the report is undoubtedly false; for it will be made evident afterward, that, in the hunter-state, or, even in that of shepherds, it is impracticable for any woman, by her own industry alone, to rear a numerous issue. If this be at all possible, it can only be in the torrid zone, where people live on fruits and roots, which are produced in plenty with very little labour. Upon that account Diodorus Siculus is less blameable for listening to a report, that the inhabitants of Taprobana, supposed to be the island of Ceylon, never marry, but that women are used promiscuously. But as there is no such practice known at present in

in the East Indies, there is no just ground to believe, that it ever was the practice; and the East Indies were so little known to the ancient Greeks, that their authors cannot be much relied on in the accounts they give of that distant region. The opinion of Cicero may seem to have more weight at first view; and yet a single observation will reduce it to nothing. The notions of that author upon the primitive state of man must confessedly be exceedingly crude, when he denies to savages any sense of religion or of moral duty. Ought we to rely more on him, when he denies, that they have any notion of matrimony? Cæsar's account of the ancient Britons approaches the nearest to a loose commerce with women, though in the main it is good evidence against the opinion of Cicero. It was common, he says, for a number of brothers, or other near relations, to use their wives promiscuously. The offspring, however, were not common; for each man maintained the children that were produced by his own wife. Herodotus reports the same of the Massagetæ.

Laying thus aside the great names of Cicero, Herodotus, and Pliny, the field lies open to a fair and impartial investigation. And as the means provided by nature for continuing the race of other animals may probably throw light upon the œconomy of nature with respect man, I begin with that article, which has not engaged the attention of naturalists so much as it ought to do. With respect to animals whose nourishment is grass, pairing would be of no use: the female feeds herself and her young at the same instant, and the male has nothing to do. On the other hand, all brute animals, whose young require the nursing care of both parents, are directed by nature to pair; nor is that connection dissolved till the young can provide for themselves. Pairing is indispensable to
wild

wild birds that build on trees ; because the male must provide food for his mate while she is hatching the eggs. And as they have commonly a numerous issue, it requires the labour of both to pick up food for themselves and for their young. Upon that account it is so ordered, that the young are sufficiently vigorous to provide for themselves, before a new brood is produced.

What I have now opened suggests the following question, Whether, according to the animal œconomy above display'd, are we to presume, or not, that man is directed by nature to matrimony ? If analogy can be rely'd on, the affirmative must be held, as there is no other creature in the known world to which pairing is so necessary. Man is a long-lived animal, and is proportionally slow in growing to maturity : he is a helpless being before the age of fifteen or sixteen, and there may be in a family ten or twelve children of different births before the eldest can shift for itself. Now in the original state of hunting and fishing, which are laborious occupations, and not always successful, a woman suckling her infant is not able to provide food even for herself, far less for ten or twelve voracious children. Matrimony, therefore, or pairing, is so necessary to the human race, that it must be natural and instinctive. When such ample means are provided for continuing every other animal race, is it supposable that the chief race would be neglected ? Providential care descends even to vegetable life : every plant bears a profusion of seed ; and in order to cover the earth with vegetables, some seeds have wings, some are scattered by means of a spring, and some are so light as to be carried about by the wind. Brute animals which do not pair, have grass and other food in plenty, enabling the female to feed her young without needing any help from the male. But where the
 young

young require the nursing care of both parents, pairing is a law of nature. When other races are so amply provided for, can it be seriously thought, that Providence is less attentive to the human race? If men and women were not impelled by nature to matrimony, they would be less fitted for continuing their species than even the humblest plant. Have we not reason fairly to conclude, that matrimony in the human race is an appointment of nature? Can that conclusion be resisted by any one who believes in Providence, and in final causes*?

To confirm this doctrine, let the consequences of a loose commerce between the sexes be examined. The carnal appetite, when confined to one object, seldom transgresses the bounds of temperance. But were it encouraged to roam like a bee sucking honey from every flower, every new object would inflame the imagination; and satiety with respect to one would give new vigour with respect to others: a generic habit would be formed of intemperance in fruition (*b*); and animal love would become the ruling passion. Men, like the hart in rutting-time, would all the year round fly with impetuosity from object to object, giving no quarter even to women suckling their infants: and women, abandoning themselves to the same passion, would become altogether regardless of their offspring. In that state, the continuance of the human race would be a miracle. In the savage state,

* It appears a wise appointment of Providence, that women give over child-bearing at fifty, while they are still in vigour of mind and body to take care of their offspring. Did the power of procreation continue in women to old age as in men, children would often be left in the wide world, without a mortal to look after them.

(*b*) Elements of Criticism, chap. 14.

as mentioned above, it is beyond the power of any woman to provide food for a family of children; and now it appears, that intemperance in animal love would render a woman careless of her family, however easy it might be to provide for it *.

I say more: The promiscuous use of women would unqualify them in a great measure from procreating, or having a family. The carnal appetite in man resembles his appetite for food: both of them demand gratification without end, after short intervals. Where the carnal appetite is felt but a short space annually, as among animals who feed on grass, the promiscuous use of females is according to the order of nature: but such a law in man, where the carnal appetite is always awake, would be an effectual bar to population; as it is an undoubted truth, that women who indulge that appetite to excess, seldom have children; and if all women were common, all women would in effect be common prostitutes.

* I have often been tempted to find fault with Providence in bringing so early to perfection the carnal appetite, while a man, still in early youth, has acquired no degree of prudence nor of self-command. It rages indeed the most when young men should be employ'd in acquiring knowledge, and in fitting themselves for living comfortably in the world. I have set this thought in various lights; but I now perceive that the censure is without foundation. The early ripeness of this appetite proves it to be the intention of Providence that people should early settle in matrimony. In that state the appetite is abundantly moderate, and gives no obstruction to education. It never becomes unruly, till one, forgetting the matrimonial tie, wanders from object to object. It is pride and luxury that dictate late marriages: industry never fails to afford the means of living comfortably, provided men confine themselves to the demands of nature.

If

If undisguised nature shows itself any where, it is in children. So truly is matrimony an instinct of nature, as to be understood even by children. They often hear, it is true, people talking of matrimony; but they also hear of logical, metaphysical, and commercial matters, without understanding a syllable. Whence then their notion of marriage but from nature? Marriage at the same time is a compound idea, which no instruction could bring within the comprehension of a child, did not nature co-operate.

That the arguments urged above against a promiscuous use of women do not necessarily conclude against polygamy, or the union of one man with a plurality of women, will not escape an attentive reader. St. Augustin and other fathers admit, that polygamy is not prohibited by the law of nature; and the learned Grotius professes the same opinion (c). But great names terrify me not; and I venture to maintain, that pairing in the strictest sense is a law of nature among men as among wild birds; and that polygamy is a gross infringement of this law. My reasons follow.

I urge, in the first place, the equal number of males and females, as a clear indication of the will of God, that every man should be confined to one wife, and every woman to one husband. That equality which has subsisted in all countries, and at all times, is a signal instance of over-ruling Providence; for the chances against it are infinite. All men are by nature equal in rank; and every man consequently is equally privileged to have a wife; which cannot be, if polygamy be permitted. Were ten women born for one man, as is falsely reported to be the case in Bantam, polygamy might be the intention of Providence; but from

(c) De jure belli ac pacis, lib. 2. cap. 5. § 9.

the equality of males and females, it is clearly the voice of nature, as well as of the sacred scripture, "That a man shall leave his father and mother, and cleave to his wife; and that they shall be one flesh."

Consider, in the next place, that however plausible polygamy may appear in the present state of things, where inequality of rank and of fortune have produced luxury and sensuality; yet that the laws of nature were not contrived by our Maker for a forc'd state, where numberless individuals are degraded below their natural rank, for the benefit of a few who are elevated above it. To form a just notion of polygamy, we must look back to the original state of man, where all are equal. In that state, every man cannot have two wives; and consequently no man is intitled to more than one, till every other be upon an equal footing with him. At the same time, the union of one man with one woman is much better calculated for continuing the race, than the union of one man with many women. Think of a savage who may have fifty or sixty children by different wives, all depending for food upon his industry. Chance must turn out much in his favour, if the half of them perish not by hunger. How much a better chance for life have infants who are distributed more equally in different families?

Polygamy is attended with an effect still more pernicious, with respect to children even of the most opulent families. Unless affection be reciprocal and equal, there can be no proper society in the matrimonial state, no cordiality, nor due care of offspring. But such affection is inconsistent with polygamy: a woman in that state, far from being a companion to her husband, is degraded to the rank of a servant, a mere instrument of pleasure and propagation. Among many wives there will
always

always be a favourite: the rest turn peevish; and if they resent not the injury against their husband, and against their children as belonging to him, will at least be disheartened, and neglect them altogether. At the same time, fondness for the favourite wife and her children makes the husband indifferent about the rest; and woful is the condition of children who are neglected by both parents (*d*). To produce such an effect is certainly not the purpose of nature.

It merits peculiar attention, that Providence has provided for an agreeable union among all creatures who are taught by nature to pair. Animal love, among creatures who pair not, is confined within a narrow space of time: while the dam is occupied about her young, animal love lies dormant, that she may not be abstracted from her duty. In pairing animals, on the contrary, animal love is always awake: frequent enjoyment endears a pair to each other, and makes constancy a pleasure. Such is the case of the human race; and such is the case of wild birds (*e*). Among the wild birds that build on trees, the male, after feeding his mate in the nest, plants himself upon the next spray, and cheers her with a song. There is still greater pleasure provided for the human race in the matrimonial state, and stronger incitements to constancy. Sweet is the society of a pair fitted for each other, in whom are collected the affections of husband, wife, lover, friend, the tenderest affections of human nature. Public government is in perfection, when the sovereign commands with humanity, and the subjects are cordial in their obedience. Private government in conjugal society arrives at still greater perfection, where husband and wife govern and are governed

(*d*) *L'esprit des loix*, liv. 16. chap. 6.

(*e*) *Buffon*, liv. 5. p. 359. octavo edition.

reciprocally

reciprocally, with entire satisfaction to both. The man bears rule over his wife's person and conduct; she bears rule over his inclinations: he governs by law; and she by persuasion. Nor can her authority ever fail, where it is supported by sweetness of temper, and zeal to make him happy *.

The

* L'empire de la femme est un empire de douceur, d'adresse, et de complaisance; ses ordres sont des caresses, ses menaces sont des pleurs. Elle doit regner dans la maison comme un ministre dans l'état, en se faisant commander ce qu'elle veut faire. En ce sens il est constant que les meilleurs ménages sont ceux où la femme a le plus d'autorité. Mais quand elle reconnoit la voix du chef, qu'elle veut usurper ses droits et commander elle-même; il ne résulte jamais de ce désordre, que misère, scandale, et deshonneur. Rousseau *Emile*, liv. 5. p. 96.—[In English thus: "The empire of the woman is an empire of softness, of address, of complacency; her commands are caresses, her menaces are tears. She ought to reign in the family like a minister in the state, by making that which is her inclination be enjoined to her as her duty. Thus it is evident, that the best domestic œconomy is that where the wife has most authority. But when she is insensible to the voice of her chief, when she tries to usurp his prerogative, and to command alone, what can result from such disorder, but misery, scandal, and dishonour?"]—The Empress Livia being questioned by a married lady, how she had obtained such ascendant over her husband Augustus, answered, "By being obedient to his commands, by not wishing to know his secrets, and by hiding my knowledge of his amours." The late Queen of Spain was a woman of singular prudence, and of solid judgment. A character of her, published after her death, contains the following passage. "She had a great ascendancy over the King, founded on his persuasion of her superior sense, which she show'd in a perfect submission to his commands; the more easily obey'd, as they were commonly,

The God of nature has enforc'd conjugal society, not only by making it agreeable, but by the principle of chastity inherent in our nature. To animals that have no instinct for pairing, chastity is utterly unknown; and to them it would be useless. The mare, the cow, the ewe, the she-goat, receive the male without ceremony, and admit the first that comes in the way without distinction. Neither have tame fowl any notion of chastity: they pair not; and the female gets no food from the male, even during incubation. But chastity and mutual fidelity are essential to all pairing animals; for wandering inclinations would render them negligent in nursing their young. Wild birds pair; and they are by instinct faithful to each other while their young require nurture. Chastity and mutual fidelity in matrimony are equally essential to the human race, and equally enforc'd by the principle of chastity, a branch of the moral sense.

Nor is chastity confined to the matrimonial state. Matrimony is instituted by nature for continuing the species; and it is the duty of man to abstain from animal enjoyment except in that state. The ceremonies of marriage, and the causes of separation and divorce, are subjected to municipal law: but if a man beget children, it is his duty to unite with the mother in taking care of them; and such union is matrimony according to the law of nature. Hence it is, that the first acts of incontinence, where enjoyment only is in view, are always attended with shame, and with a degree of remorse. At the same time, as chastity in persons who are single is only a

"commonly, tho' to him imperceptibly, dictated by herself. She cured him of many foibles, and in a word was his Minerva, under the appearance of Mentor."

self-duty, it is not so strongly enforc'd by the moral sense as chastity is in married persons, who owe to each other mutual fidelity. Deviations accordingly from the former make a less figure than from the latter: we scarce ever hear of adultery among savages: tho' among them incontinence before marriage is not uncommon. In Wales, even at present, and in the highlands of Scotland, it is scarce a disgrace for a young woman to have a bastard. In the country last mentioned, the first instance known of a bastard-child being destroy'd by its mother through shame is a late one. The virtue of chastity appears to be there gaining ground; as the only temptation a woman can have to destroy her child is, to conceal her frailty. The principle of chastity, like that of propriety or of decency, is but faint among savages, and has little of that authority which it acquires among polished nations before they are corrupted by luxury. We shall have occasion to see afterward, that even the great duty of justice is but faint among barbarians, and yields too readily to every irregular impulse, till the moral sense acquires full maturity. Bougainville reports, that in the island of Otaheite, or King George's island, a young woman is free to follow her inclinations; and that her having had many lovers gives her not the less chance for a husband.

Chastity is no doubt a restraint upon nature; and therefore, if shame be removed, by making it lawful to obey the appetite, nature will prevail. In the year 1707, a contagious distemper having carried off a large proportion of the inhabitants of Iceland, the King of Denmark fell on a device to re-people the country, which succeeded to a wish. A law was made, authorising young women in that island to have bastards, even to the number of six,
without

without wounding their reputation *. The young women were so zealous to re-people their country, that, after a few years, it was found proper to abrogate the law.

Modesty is by nature intended to guard chastity, as chastity is to guard matrimony. And modesty, like chastity, is one of those delicate principles that make no great figure among savages. In the land of Jesso, young women sometimes go naked in summer: if, however, they meet a stranger, they hang the head, and turn away through shame. Nature here is their only instructor †. Some savage tribes have so little notion of modesty, as to go naked, without even covering their privy parts. Regnard reports, upon his own knowledge, that in Lapland, man, woman, and child, take the hot bath promiscuously, and are not ashamed to be seen in that condition, even by a stranger. As this appeared singular, I took opportunity to mention it to Dr. Solander, who made more than one visit to that country. He said, that Regnard's report might be true, but without any imputation on the modesty of the Laplanders; for that their place of bathing is always so dark, that nothing can be seen. He added, that the females in Lapland, both married and unmarried, are extremely chaste. The inhabitants of Otaheite, tho' otherwise a good sort of people, seem to have as little notion of modesty

* Don Juan de Ulloa, in his voyage to Peru, mentions a very singular taste prevalent in that country, that a man never takes a virgin to wife; and thinks himself dishonoured if his wife has not, before marriage, enjoy'd many lovers. If we can trust Paulus Venetus, a young woman of Thibet, in Asia, is not reckoned fit to be married till she be deflowered.

† Doth not modesty prevail among many animals? Elephants are never seen in copulation, nor cats, nor beasts of prey.

as of chastity. We have Bougainville's authority, that they frankly offered their young women to the French, and were greatly surprised when they declined performing in public. The women of New Zeland are both chaste and modest. In Lieutenant Cook's Voyage Round the World, it is reported, that he stumbled upon some of them naked, searching for lobsters in the sea; and that they were in great confusion for being seen in this condition by strangers.

But now, if pairing in the strictest sense be a law of nature among men, as among some other animals, how is polygamy to be accounted for, which formerly was universal, and to this day obtains among many nations? I am reduced to no dilemma here. Polygamy is derived from two sources; first, from savage manners, once universal; and next, from voluptuousness in warm climates, which instigates men of wealth to transgress every rule of temperance. These two sources I propose to handle with care, because they make a great part of the history of the female sex.

With respect to the first, sweetness of temper, a capital branch of the female character, displays itself externally, by mild looks, and gentle manners. But such graces are scarce perceptible in a female savage; and even in the most polished would not be perceived by a male savage. Among savages, strength and boldness are the only valued qualities: in these qualities females are miserably deficient; and for that reason are contemned by the males, as beings of an inferior order. The North-American tribes glory in idleness: the drudgery of labour degrades a man in their opinion, and is proper for women only. To join young persons in marriage is accordingly the business of parents; and it would be unpardonable meanness in the bridegroom to shew any fondness for the bride. Young men
among

among the Hottentots are admitted into society with their seniors at the age of eighteen; after which it is disgraceful to keep company with females. In Guiana, a woman never eats with her husband; but after every meal attends him with water for washing. A woman in the Caribbee islands is not permitted to eat even in the presence of her husband; and yet we are assured (*f*), that the women there obey with such sweetness and respect, as never to give their husbands occasion to remind them of their duty; "an example," adds our sage author, "worthy the imitation of Christian wives, who are daily instructed from the pulpit in the duties of obedience and conjugal fidelity, but to very little purpose." Dampier observes in general, that among all the wild nations he was acquainted with, the women carry the burdens, while the men walk before, and carry nothing but their arms. Women even of the highest rank are not better treated. The sovereign of Giaga, in Africa, has many wives, who are literally his slaves: one carries his bow, one his arrows, and one gives him drink; and while he is drinking, they all fall on their knees, clap their hands, and sing. Not many centuries ago, a law was made in England, prohibiting the New Testament in English to be read by women, 'prentices, journeymen, or serving men (*g*). What a pitiful figure must the poor women have made in that age! In Siberia, and even in Russia, the capital excepted, men treat their wives in every respect as slaves. The regulations of Peter I. put marriage upon a more respectable footing among people of rank; and yet such are the brutal manners of the Russians,

(*f*) Labat's Voyages to the American islands.

(*g*) 34th and 35th Henry VIII. cap. 1.

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that tyrannical treatment of wives is far from being
eradicated.

The low condition of the female sex among savages and barbarians paved the way to polygamy. Savages, excited by a taste for variety, and still more by pride, which is gratified by many servants, delight in a multiplicity of wives. The pairing principle, tho' rooted in human nature, makes little figure among savages, yielding to every irregular appetite; and this fairly accounts why polygamy was once universal. It might indeed be thought, that animal love, were there nothing else, should have raised women to some degree of estimation among the men. But male savages, utter strangers to decency or refinement, gratify animal love with as little ceremony as they do hunger or thirst.

Hence appears the reason of a custom that will surprise those who are unacquainted with ancient customs; which is, that women are purchased for wives, as other goods are purchased. Women by marriage became slaves; and no man will give away his daughter to be a slave, but for a valuable consideration. The practice was universal. I begin with the Jews. Abraham bought Rebekah, and gave her to his son Isaac for a wife (*b*). Jacob having nothing else to give, served Laban fourteen years for two wives (*i*). Sechem demanding in marriage Dinah, Jacob's daughter, said, "Ask me never so much dowry and gift, and I will give according as ye shall say unto me: but give me the damsel to wife (*k*)."
To David, demanding Saul's daughter in marriage, Saul said, "The king desireth not any dowry, but an hundred forekins of the Philistines (*l*)."
In the Iliad,

(*b*) Genesis xxiv. 53.

(*i*) Ibid. chap. xxix.

(*k*) Ibid. xxxiv. 12.

(*l*) 1 Samuel xviii. 25.

Agamemnon offers his daughter to Achilles for a wife, and says, that he would not demand for her any price. Pausanias reports of Danaus, that no suitors appearing to demand any of his daughters, he published, that he would give them without dowry. In Homer there is frequent mention of nuptial gifts from a bridegroom to his bride's father. From terming them gifts, it is probable that the former method of purchase was beginning to wear out. It wore out before the time of Aristotle, who infers, that their fore-fathers must have been a very rude people. The ancient Spaniards purchased their wives. We have the authority of Herodotus and of Heraclides Ponticus, that the same was practised in Thrace. And the latter adds, that if a wife was ill treated, her relations could demand her back, upon repaying the price they got for her. In the Roman law mention is made of matrimony per æs et libram, which was solemnized by laying down a quantity of brass, with a balance for weighing it, understood to be the price paid for the bride. This must have been once a reality, tho' it sunk down to be a mere ceremony, after it became customary for a Roman bride to bring a dowry with her. The Babylonians and the Assyrians, at stated times, collected all the marriageable young women, and disposed of them by auction. Rubruguis, in his voyage to Tartary, ann. 1253, reports, that there every man bought his wife. They believe, he adds, that their wives serve them in another world as they do in this; for which reason, a widow has no chance for a second husband, whom she cannot serve in the other world. Olaus Magnus remarking, that among the ancient Goths no dower was provided on the bride's part, gives a reason, better suited perhaps to the time he lived in than to what he describes. "Apud Gothos, non mulier viro
" sed vir mulieri dotem assignat; ne conjux, ob

“ *magnitudinem dotis insolescens, aliquando ex*
 “ *placida consorte proterva evadet, atque in mari-*
 “ *tum dominari contendat ** ;” as if the hazard of
 petulancy in a wife would hinder a man to accept a
 dower with her :—a sad doctrine for an heiress.
 Giraldus Cambrensis, in his description of Wales,
 says, that formerly they hardly ever married with-
 out a prior cohabitation, it having been customary
 for parents to let out their daughters to young men
 upon trial, for a sum of money told down, and
 under a penalty if the girls were returned. This I
 believe to be a mistake. It is more probable, that
 in Wales men purchased their wives, as was done
 all the world over, with liberty to return them if
 they proved not agreeable. The bride’s parents
 retained the dowry, and her chance for a husband
 was as good as ever.

The same custom continues among barbarous
 nations. It continues among the Tartars, among
 the Mingrelians, among the Samoides, among the
 Ostiaks, among the people of Pegu, and of the
 Molucca islands. In Timor, an East-Indian island,
 men even sell their children to purchase more wives.
 The Prince of Circassia demanded from the Prince
 of Mingrelia, who was in suit of his daughter, a
 hundred slaves loaded with tapestry and other
 household furniture, a hundred cows, as many
 oxen, and as many horses. We have evidence of
 the same custom in Africa, particularly in Biledul-
 gerid, among the negroes on the sea-coast, and in
 Monomotapa. Among the Caribbees there is one
 instance where a man gets a wife without paying
 for her. After a successful war, the victors are

* “ Among the Goths, a man gave a dowry for his
 “ bride, instead of receiving one with her ; to prevent
 “ pride and insolence, that commonly accompany riches
 “ on the woman’s part.”

entertained at a feast, where the General harangues on the valour of the young men who made the best figure. Every man who has marriageable daughters, is fond to offer them to such young men without any price. The purchasing of wives is universal among the wild Arabs. When the bargain is concluded, the bridegroom is permitted to visit the bride: if she answer not his expectations, he may turn her off; but has no claim for the price he paid. The inland negroes are more polished than those on the coast; and there is scarce any remains among them of purchasing wives: the bridegroom makes presents to his bride, and her father makes presents to him. There are remaining traces in Russia of purchasing wives. Even so late as the time of Peter I. the Russians married without seeing each other; and before solemnization the bride received from the bridegroom a present of sweetmeats, soap, and other little things.

The purchasing of wives made it a lawful practice to lend a wife as one does a slave. The Spartans lent their wives to their friends; and Cato the elder is said to have done the same. The Indians of Calicut frequently exchange wives.

If brutish manners alone be sufficient to degrade the female sex, they may reckon upon extreme harsh treatment when purchased to be slaves. The Giagas, a fierce and wandering nation in the central parts of Africa, being supinely idle at home, subject their wives and their slaves to every sort of drudgery, such as digging, sowing, reaping, cutting wood, grinding corn, fetching water, &c. These poor creatures are suffered to toil in the fields and woods, ready to faint with excessive labour, while the monsters of men will not give themselves even the trouble of training animals for work, tho' they have the example of the Portuguese before their eyes. It is the business of the women among

the wandering Arabs of Africa to card, spin, and weave, and to manage other household affairs. They milk the cattle, grind, bake, brew, dress the victuals, and bring home wood and water. They even take care of their husbands horses, feed, curry, comb, bridle, and saddle them. They would also be obliged, like Moorish wives, to dig, sow, and reap their corn; but luckily for them the Arabs live entirely upon plunder. Father Joseph Gummilla, in his account of a country in South America, bordering upon the great river Oroonoko, describes pathetically the miserable slavery of married women there, and mentions a practice that would appear incredible to one unacquainted with the manners of that country, which is, that married women frequently destroy their female infants. A married woman, of a virtuous character and good understanding, having been guilty of that crime, was reproached by our author in bitter terms. She heard him patiently to an end, with eyes fixed on the ground; and answered as follows.

“ I wish to God, Father, I wish to God, that my
“ mother had by my death prevented the manifold
“ distresses I have endured, and have yet to endure
“ as long as I live. Had she kindly stifled me at
“ my birth, I should not have felt the pain of
“ death, nor numberless other pains to which life
“ hath subjected me. Consider, Father, our de-
“ plorable condition. Our husbands go to hunt
“ with their bows and arrows, and trouble them-
“ selves no farther. We are dragged along, with
“ one infant at our breast, and another in a basket.
“ They return in the evening without any burden:
“ we return with the burden of our children; and,
“ tho’ tired out with a long march, are not per-
“ mitted to sleep, but must labour the whole night
“ in grinding maize, to make chica for them.
“ They get drunk, and in their drunkenness beat
“ us,

“ us, draw us by the hair of the head, and tread
“ us under foot. And what have we to comfort
“ us for slavery, perhaps of twenty years? A
“ young wife is brought in upon us, who is per-
“ mitted to abuse us and our children, because we
“ are no longer regarded. Can human nature en-
“ dure such tyranny! What kindness can we show
“ to our female children equal to that of relieving
“ them from such servitude, more bitter a thousand
“ times than death? I say again, would to God
“ that my mother had put me under ground the
“ moment I was born.” One would readily ima-
gine, that the women of that country should have
the greatest abhorrence at matrimony: but all-
prevailing nature determines the contrary; and the
appetite for matrimony overbalances every rational
consideration.

Nations polish by degrees; and from the lowest
state to which a human creature can be reduced,
women came in time to be restored to their native
dignity. Attention to dress is the first symptom of
that progress. Male savages, even of the grossest
kind, are fond of dress. Charlevoix mentions a
young American hired as a rower, who adjusted
his dress with great care before he entered the boat;
and at intervals inspected his looking-glass, to see
whether the violence of his motion had not discom-
posed the red upon his cheeks. We read not of
vanity for dress in females of such savage nations:
they are too much dispirited to think of being agree-
able. Among nations in any degree humanized
we find a different scene. In the isthmus of Darien
government has made some progress, as a chieftain
is elected for life: a glimmering of civility appears
among the inhabitants; and as some regard is paid
to women, they rival the men in dress. Both sexes
wear rings in their ears and noses; and are adorned
with many rows of shells hanging down from the
neck.

neck. A female in a sultry climate submits to fry all day long under a load of twenty or thirty pounds of shells; and a male under double that load. Well may they exclaim with Alexander, "Oh Athenians! what do I not endure to gain your approbation?" The female Caribbeans and Brazilians are not less fond of ornament than the males. Hottentot ladies are fond of dress; and strive to out-do each other in adorning their krosses, and the bag that holds their pipe and tobacco: European ladies are not more vain of their silks and embroideries. Women in Lapland are much addicted to finery. They wear broad girdles, upon which hang chains and rings without end, commonly made of tin, sometimes of silver, weighing perhaps twenty pounds. The Greenlanders are nasty and slovenly, eat with their dogs, make food of the vermin that make food of them, seldom or never wash themselves; and yet the women, who make some figure among the men, are gaudy in their dress. Their chief ornaments are pendants at their ears, with glass beads of various colours; and they draw lines with a needle and black thread between their eyes, cross the forehead, upon the chin, hands, and legs. The negroes of the kingdom of Ardrah in Guinea have made a considerable progress in police, and in the art of living. Their women carry dress and finery to an extravagance. They are clothed with loads of the finest satins and chintzes, and are adorned with a profusion of gold. In a sultry climate they gratify vanity at the expence of ease. Among the inland negroes, who are more polished than those on these a-coast, beside domestic concerns, the women sow, plant, and reap. A man however suffers in the esteem of the world, if he permits his wives to toil like slaves while he is indulging in ease. From that auspicious commencement, the female sex have risen in a slow but steady progress

progress to higher and higher degrees of estimation. Conversation is their talent, and a display of delicate sentiments: the gentleness of their manners, and winning behaviour, captivate every sensible heart. Of such refinements savages have little conception: but when the more delicate senses are unfolded, the peculiar beauties of the female sex, internal as well as external, are brought into full light; and women, formerly considered as objects of animal love merely, are now valued as faithful friends and agreeable companions. Matrimony assumes a more decent form, being the union, not of a master and slave, but of two persons equal in rank uniting to form a family. And it contributed greatly to this delicious refinement, that in temperate climes animal love is moderate, and women long retain good looks, and power of procreation. Thus marriage became honourable among polished nations; which of course banished the barbarous custom of purchasing wives; for a man who wishes to have his daughter properly matched, will gladly give a dowry with her, instead of selling her as a slave.

Polygamy is found intimately connected with the purchasing wives. There is no limitation in purchasing slaves: nor has a woman, purchased as a wife or a slave, any just cause for complaining, that others are purchased as she was: on the contrary, she is in part relieved, by addition of hands for performing the servile offices of the family. Polygamy accordingly has always been permitted, where men pay for their wives. The Jews purchased their wives, and were indulged in polygamy (*m*). Diodorus Siculus says, that polygamy was permitted in Egypt, except to priests (*n*). This probably was the case originally; but when the Egyptian man-

(*m*) Leviticus, xviii. 18.

(*n*) Lib. 1.

ners came to be polished, a man gave a dowry with his daughter, instead of receiving a price for her; witness Solomon, who got the city of Gazer in dowry with the king of Egypt's daughter. When that custom became universal, we may be certain that it would put an end to polygamy. And accordingly Herodotus affirms, that polygamy was prohibited in Egypt (o). Polygamy undoubtedly prevailed in Greece and Rome, while it was customary to purchase wives; but improved manners put an end to the latter, and consequently to the former. Polygamy to this day obtains in the cold country of Kamiskatka; and in the still colder country round Hudson's bay. In the land of Jesso, near Japan, a man may have two wives, who perform every sort of domestic drudgery. The negroes in general purchase their wives, and deal in polygamy. Polygamy is the law in Monomotapa. Polygamy and the purchasing wives were customary among the original inhabitants of the Canary islands. The men in Chili buy their wives, and deal in polygamy.

The low condition of women among barbarians introduced polygamy, and the purchasing women to be wives. And the just respect paid to them among civilized nations, restored the law of nature, and confined a man to one wife. Their equality as to rank and dignity bars the man from taking another wife, as it bars the woman from taking another husband. We find traces in ancient history of polygamy wearing out gradually. It wore out in Greece, as manners refined; but such was the influence of long habit, that tho' a man was confined to one wife, concubines were indulged without limitation. In Germany, when Tacitus wrote, very few traces remained of polygamy. "Severa
 "illic matrimonia, nec ullam morum partem ma-
 "gis laudaveris: nam prope soli barbarorum singu-
 (o) Lib. 2. § 92.

“lis uxoribus contenti sunt, exceptis admodum
 “paucis, qui non libidine, sed ob nobilitatem, plu-
 “rimis nuptiis ambiuntur*.” When polygamy
 was in that country so little practised, we may be
 certain the purchasing wives did not remain in vi-
 gour. And Tacitus accordingly, mentioning the
 general rule, “dotem non uxor marito, sed uxori
 “maritus offert †,” explains it away by observing,
 that the only DOS given by the bridegroom were
 marriage-presents, and that he at the same time re-
 ceived marriage-presents, on the bride’s part (p).
 The equality of the matrimonial engagement, for
 the mutual benefit of husband and wife, was
 well understood among the Gauls. Cæsar (q)
 says, “Viri quantas pecunias ab uxoribus dotis no-
 “mine acceperunt, tantas ex suis bonis, æstimati-
 “one facta, cum dotibus communicant. Hujus
 “omnis pecuniæ conjunctim ratio habetur, fructus-
 “que servantur. Uter eorum vita superarit, ad
 “eum pars utriusque cum fructibus superiorum
 “temporum pervenit ‡.” In Japan, and in Ni-
 caragua, a man can have but one wife; but he

* “Marriage is there rigidly respected; nor is there
 “any part of their morality more laudable: for they
 “are almost the only race of barbarians who are con-
 “tented with a single wife; a very few excepted, who,
 “not from incontinency, but from an ambition of no-
 “bility, take more wives than one.”

† “The husband gives a dowry to the wife, but the
 “wife brings none to the husband.”

‡ “Whatever sum the husband has received as his
 “wife’s portion, he allots as much from his own effects
 “to be joined with it. An account is kept of this joint
 “stock, and the fruits of it are preserved. Upon the
 “death of either, the surviving spouse has the pro-
 “perty of both the shares, with the fruits or profits.”

(p) De moribus Germanorum, cap. 18.

(q) Lib. 6. cap. 19. De bello Gallico.

may

may have many concubines. In Siam, polygamy is still permitted, though the bride brings a dowry with her : but that absurdity is corrected by refined manners ; it being held improper, and even disgraceful, to have more than one wife. The purchasing wives wore out of fashion among the ancient Tuscans ; for it was held infamous, that marriage should be the result of any motive but mutual love. This at the same time put an end to polygamy. Polygamy was probably early eradicated among the ancient Persians ; for the bride's dowry was settled in marriage-articles, as among us. And there is the same reason for presuming, that it was not long permitted in Mexico ; marriage there being solemnized by the priest, and the bride's dower specified, which was restored in case of a separation. In the countries where the Christian religion was first propagated, women were fast advancing to an equality with the men, and polygamy was wearing out of fashion. The pure spirit of the gospel hastened its downfall ; and though not prohibited expressly, it was, however, held, that Christianity is a religion too pure for polygamy.

But, as hinted above, it was by slow degrees that the female sex emerged out of slavery, to possess the elevated state they justly are intitled to by nature. The practice of exposing infants among the Greeks, and many other nations, is an invincible proof of their depression, even after the custom ceased of purchasing them. It is wisely ordered by Providence, that the affection of a woman to her children commences with their birth, because, during infancy, all depends on her care. As, during that period, the father is of little use to his child, his affection is extremely slight till the child begins to prattle and shew some fondness for him. The exposing an infant, therefore, shows, that the mother was little regarded : if she had been allowed a vote,
the

the practice never would have obtained in any country. In the first book of the Iliad, Achilles says to Agamemnon, who threatened to force from him his mistress Briseis, "Another thing I will tell thee : record it in thy soul. For a woman these hands shall never fight, with thee nor with thy foes. Come, seize Briseis : ye Argives, take the prize ye gave. But beware of other spoil, which lies stowed in my ships on the shore. I will not be plundered farther. If other be thy thoughts, Atrides, come in arms, a trial make : these very slaves of thine shall behold thy blood pouring around my spear *." The comedies of Menander, Philemon, and Diphilus, are lost ; but manners must have been little polished in their time, so far as can be conjectured from their translators or imitators, Plautus and Terence. Married women in their comedies are sometimes introduced, and treated with very little respect. A man commonly

* Pope hides that sentiment as follows :

" Seize on Briseis, whom the Grecians doom'd
 " My prize of war, yet tamely see resum'd ;
 " And seize secure ; no more Achilles draws
 " His conqu'ring sword in any woman's cause.
 " The gods command me to forgive the past ;
 " But let this first invasion be the last :
 " For know, thy blood, when next thou dar'st
 " invade,
 " Shall stream in vengeance on my reeking blade."

Such contempt of the female sex, as expressed by Achilles, was, perhaps, thought too gross for a modern ear without some disguise. But did not Pope discover, that one capital beauty in Homer is the delineation of ancient manners ? At that rate, had it fallen to his share to describe Julius Cæsar, he would have dressed him like a modern beau. And after all, in a genteel assembly, what a savage would he appear, without breeches, and without linen !

vents his wrath on his wife, and scolds her as the cause of the misconduct of their children. A lady, perhaps too inquisitive about her husband's amours, is scolded by him in the following words.

“ Ni mala, ni stulta sis, ni indomita imposque
“ animi,

“ Quod viro esse odio videas, tute tibi odio habeas.

“ Præter hac si mihi tale post hunc diem

“ Faxis, faxo foris vidua vifas patrem *.”

One will not be surprised, that women in Greece were treated with no great respect by their husbands. A woman cannot have much attraction who passes all her time in solitude: to be admired, she must receive the high polish of society. At the same time, men of fashion were so much improved in manners as to relish society with agreeable women, where such could be found. And hence the figure that courtezans made at that period, especially in Athens. They studied the temper and taste of the men, and endeavoured to gain their affection by every winning art. The daily conversations they listened to on philosophy, politics, poetry, enlightened their understanding and improved their taste. Their houses became agreeable schools, where every one might be instructed in his own arts. Socrates and Pericles met frequently at the house of Aspasia: from her they acquired delicacy of taste, and in return procured to her public respect and reputation.

- * “ Would you be held a wife and virtuous spouse,
“ And of discretion due, observe this counsel:
“ Whatever I, your lord, blame or approve,
“ Still let your praise or censure be the same.
“ But hearkee,—be this reprimand the last:
“ If you again offend, no more a wife
“ Within these walls ;—your father has you back.”
Greece

Greece at that time was governed by orators, over whom some celebrated courtezans had great influence, and by that means entered deep into the government. It was said of the famous Demosthenes, "The measure he hath meditated on for a year, will be overturned in a day by a woman." It appears accordingly from Plautus and Terence, that Athenian courtezans lived in great splendor. See in particular Theautontimorumenos, act 3. scene 2.

I proceed to the other cause of polygamy, mentioned also above, viz. opulence in a hot climate. Men there have a burning appetite for animal enjoyment; and women become old and lose the prolific quality, not long after the age of maturity in a temperate climate. These circumstances dispose men of opulence to purchase their wives, that they may not be confined to one; and purchase they must, for no man, without a valuable consideration, will surrender his daughter to be one of many who are destined to gratify the carnal appetite of one man. The numerous wives and concubines in Asiatic harems are all of them purchased with money. In the hot climate of Hindostan, polygamy is universal, and men buy their wives. The same obtains in China: after the price is adjusted and paid, the bride is conducted to the bride-groom's house locked in a sedan, and the key delivered to him: if he be not satisfied with his bargain, he sends her back at the expence of losing the sum he paid for her: if satisfied, he feasts his male friends in one room, and she her female friends in another. A man who has little substance takes a wife for his son from an hospital, which saves him a dowry.

It has been pleaded for polygamy in warm climates, that women are fit for being married at or before the age of ten, and past child-bearing at twenty-five, while men are yet in the prime of life; and therefore that a second wife ought to be permitted,

permitted, who can bear children. Is then the interest of the female sex to be totally disregarded in the matrimonial engagement, as if women were intended by nature for beasts of burden only? But even putting them out of the question, it ought to be considered, that a man, by taking a second wife, deprives some other of the privilege all men have to be married. The argument, indeed, would be conclusive, were ten females born for one male, as is said to be the case in Bantam: but as an equality of males and females is the destination of nature, the argument has no force. All men are born equal by nature; and to permit polygamy in any degree, is to authorise some to usurp the privilege of others.

Thus in hot climates women remain in the same humble and dependent state, in which all women were originally, when all men were savages. Women by the law of Hindostan are not admitted to be witnesses, even in a civil cause; and I blush to acknowledge, that in Scotland the same law has not been long in disuse.

In contradiction to the climate, Christianity has banished polygamy from Ethiopia, though the judges are far from being severe upon that crime. The heat of the climate makes them wish to indulge in a plurality of wives, even at the expence of purchasing each of them. Among the Christians of Congo polygamy is in use, as formerly when they were Pagans. To be confined to one wife during life, is held by the most zealous Christians there, to be altogether irrational: rather than be so confined, they would renounce Christianity.

Beside polygamy, many other customs depend on the nature of the matrimonial engagement, and vary according to its different kinds. Marriage-ceremonies, for that reason, vary in different countries, and at different times. Where the practice is to purchase a wife, whether among savages, or among pampered

pampered people in hot climates, the payment of the price completes the marriage, without any other ceremony. Other ceremonies, however, are sometimes practised. In old Rome, the bride was attended to the bridegroom's house with a female slave carrying a distaff and a spindle, importing that she ought to spin for the family. Among the savages of Canada and of the neighbouring countries, a strap, a kettle, and a faggot, are put in the bride's cabin, as symbols of her duty, viz. to carry burdens, to dress the victuals, and to provide wood. On the other hand, the bride, in token of her slavery, takes her axe, cuts down timber, bundles it up, and lays it before the door of the bridegroom's hut. All the salutation she receives is, "It is time to go to rest." The inhabitants of Sierra Leona, a negro country, have in all their towns a boarding-school, where young ladies are educated for a year under the care of a venerable old gentleman. When their education is completed, they are carried in their best attire to a public assembly; which may be termed a matrimonial market, because there young men convene to make a choice. Those who fit themselves to their fancy, pay the dowry, and over and above gratify the old superintendent for his extraordinary care in educating the bride. In the island of Java, the bride, in token of subjection, washes the bridegroom's feet; and this is a capital ceremony. In Russia, the bride presents to the bridegroom a bundle of rods, to be used against her when she deserves to be chastised; and at the same time she pulls off his boots. The present Empress, prone to reform the rude manners of her subjects, has discountenanced that ceremony among people of fashion. Very different were the manners of Peru before the Spanish conquest. The bridegroom carried shoes to the bride, and put them on with his own hands. But there purchasing of
wives

wives was unknown. Marriage-ceremonies in Lapland are directed by the same principle. It is the custom there for a man to make presents to his children of rein-deer, and young women, such as have a large stock of rein-deer, have lovers in plenty. A young man looks for such a wife at a fair, or at their meetings for paying taxes. He carries to the house of the young woman's parents, some of his relations; being solicitous in particular to chuse an eloquent speaker. They are all admitted except the lover, who must wait till he be called in. After drinking some spirits, brought along for the purpose, the spokesman addresses the father in the most humble terms, bowing the knee as if he were introduced to a prince. He styles him, the worshipful father, the high and mighty father, the best and most illustrious father, &c. &c.

In viewing the chain of causes and effects, instances sometimes occur of bizarre facts, starting from the chain without any cause that can be discovered. The marriage-ceremonies among the Hottentots are of that nature. After all matters are adjusted among the old people, the young couple are shut up in a room by themselves, where they pass the night in struggling for superiority, which proves a very serious work where the bride is reluctant. If she persevere to the last without yielding, the young man is discarded; but if he prevail, which commonly happens, the marriage is completed by another ceremony, not less singular. The men and women squat on the ground in different circles, the bridegroom in the centre of one, and the bride in the centre of another. The Suri, or master of religious ceremonies, pisses on the bridegroom; who receives the stream with eagerness, and rubs it into the furrows of the fat with which he is covered. He performs the same ceremony on the bride, who is equally respectful. Marriage-ceremonies among the Kamskatkans are still more whimsical.

whimsical. A young man, after making his proposals, enters into the service of his intended father-in-law. If he prove agreeable, he is admitted to the trial of the touch. The young woman is swaddled up in leathern thongs; and in that condition is put under the guard of some old women. He watches every opportunity of a slack guard to uncase her, in order to touch what is always the most concealed. The bride must resist, in appearance at least; and therefore cries out to summon her guards; who fall with fury upon the bridegroom, tear his hair, scratch his face, and act in violent opposition. The attempts of the lover prove sometimes unsuccessful for months; but the moment the touch is achieved, the bride testifies her satisfaction, by pronouncing the words *Ni, Ni*, with a soft and loving voice. The next night they bed together without any opposition. One marriage-ceremony among the inland negroes is singular. So soon as preliminaries are adjusted, the bridegroom with a number of his companions set out at night, and surround the house of the bride, as if intending to carry her off by force. She and her female attendants, pretending to make all possible resistance, cry aloud for help, but no person appears. This resembles strongly a marriage-ceremony that is or was customary in Wales. On the morning of the wedding-day, the bridegroom, accompanied with his friends on horseback, demands the bride. Her friends, who are likewise on horseback, give a positive refusal, upon which a mock scuffle ensues. The bride, mounted behind her next kinsman, is carried off, and is pursued by the bridegroom and his friends with loud shouts. It is not uncommon to see on such an occasion two or three hundred sturdy Cambro-Britons riding at full speed, crossing and jostling, to the no small amusement of the spectators. When they have fatigued themselves and their horses, the bridegroom

groom is suffered to overtake his bride. He leads her away in triumph, and the scene is concluded with feasting and festivity. The same marriage-ceremony was usual in Muscovy, Lithuania, and Livonia, as reported by Olaus Magnus (r).

Divorce also depends on the nature of the matrimonial engagement. Where the law is, that a man must purchase his wife as one does a slave; it follows naturally, that he may purchase as many as he can pay for, and that he may turn them off at his pleasure. This law is universal, without a single exception. The Jews, who purchased their wives, were privileged to divorce them, without being obliged to assign a cause (s). The negroes purchase their wives, and turn them off when they think proper. The same law obtains in China, in Monomotapa, in the Isthmus of Darien, in Caribbeana, and even in the cold country round Hudson's Bay. All the savages of South America, who live near the Oroonoko, purchase as many wives as they can maintain; and divorce them at their pleasure.

Very different is a matrimonial engagement between equals, where a dowry is contracted with the bride. The nature of the engagement implies, that neither of them is privileged to dismiss the other without a just cause. In Mexico, where the bride brought a dowry, there could be no divorce but by mutual consent. In Lapland, the women who have a stock of rein-deer, as above-mentioned, make a considerable figure. This lays a foundation for a matrimonial covenant as among us, which bars polygamy, and, consequently, divorce, without a just cause. And when these are barred in fe-

(r) Lib. 14. cap. 9.

(s) Deuteronomy, chap. xxiv.

veral instances, the prohibition in time becomes general.

I proceed to adultery, the criminality of which depends also in some measure on the nature of the matrimonial engagement. Where wives are purchased, and polygamy is indulged, adultery can scarce be reckoned a crime in the husband; and where there are a plurality of wives, sound sense makes it but a venial crime in any one of them. But, as men are the lawgivers, the punishment of female adultery, where polygamy takes place, is generally too severe. It is, however, more or less severe in different countries, in proportion as the men are more or less prone to revenge. The Chinese are a mild people, and depend more on locks and bars for preventing adultery, than on severity; the punishment being only to sell an adulteress for a slave. The same law obtains in the kingdom of Laos, bordering upon China. An adulteress among the ancient Egyptians was punished with the loss of her nose. In ancient Greece, a pecuniary penalty was inflicted on an adulterer (*t*). An adulteress was probably punished more severely. Among the negroes, who have very little delicacy, adultery is but slightly punished; except in the kingdom of Benin. There an adulteress, after a severe whipping, is banished; and the adulterer forfeits his goods, which are bestowed on the injured husband. Among the ancient Germans, a grave and virtuous people, adultery was extremely rare. An adulteress was deprived of her hair, expelled from her husband's house, and whipped through the village (*u*). In Japan, where the people are remarkably fierce, female adultery is always punished with death. In Tonquin, a woman guilty of adultery

(*t*) Odyffey, book 8. l. 384.

(*u*) Tacitus, De Moribus Germanorum, cap. 19.

is thrown to an elephant to be destroyed. By the law of Moses, an adulteress is punished with death, as also the adulterer (x). Margaret of Burgundy, Queen to Lewis Hutin, King of France, was hanged for adultery; and her lovers were fled alive. Such were the savage manners of those times. There is an old law in Wales, that for defiling the prince's bed, the offender must pay a rod of pure gold, of the thickness of the finger of a ploughman who has plowed nine years, and in length from the ground to the Prince's mouth when sitting.

Matrimony between a single pair, for mutual comfort, and for procreating children, implies the strictest mutual fidelity. Adultery, however, is a deeper crime in the wife than in the husband: in him it may happen occasionally, with little or no alienation of affection; but the superior modesty of the female sex is such, that a wife does not yield, till unlawful love prevails, not only over modesty, but over duty to her husband. Adultery, therefore, in the wife, is a breach of the matrimonial engagement in a double respect: it is an alienation of affection from the husband, which unqualifies her to be his friend and companion; and it tends to bring a spurious issue into the family, betraying the husband to maintain and educate children who are not his own.

The gradual advance of the female sex to an equality with the male sex, is visible in the laws of female succession, that have been established at different times, and in different countries. It is not probable, that, in any country, women were early admitted to inherit land: they are too much despised among savages for so valuable a privilege. The fierceness and brutality of the ancient Ro-

(x) Leviticus, xx. 10.

mans, in particular, unqualified the women to be their companions: it never entered their thoughts, that women should inherit land, which they cannot defend by the sword. But women came to be regarded, in proportion as the national manners refined. The law prohibiting female succession in land, established in days of rusticity, was held to be rigorous and unjust, when the Romans were more polished. Proprietors of land, such of them as had no sons, were disposed to evade the law, by ample provisions to their daughters, which rendered the land of little value to the collateral heir-male. To reform that abuse, as termed by the veterans, the Lex Voconia was made, confining such provisions within moderate bounds: and this regulation continued in force, till regard for the female sex broke through every legal restraint, and established female succession in land, as formerly in moveables *. The barbarous nations, who crushed the Roman power, were not long in adopting the mild manners of the conquered: they ad-

* Justinian, or, more properly, the lawyers employed by him on that absurd compilation, the Pandects, is guilty of a gross error, in teaching, that, by the Twelve Tables, males and females of the same degree succeeded equally to land. The Lex Voconia (which see explained in *Alexandri ab Alexandro geniales dies*, lib. 6. cap. 15.) vouches the contrary. And one cannot see, without pain, Justinian's error, not only adopted by an illustrious modern, but a cause assigned for it so refined and subtle, as to go quite out of sight, *L'Esprit de Loix*, liv. 2. chap. 1. I venture to affirm, that subtle reasoning never had any influence upon a rough and illiterate people; and therefore, at the time of the Decemvirs, who composed the Twelve Tables of law, the subtle cause assigned by our author could not have been the motive, had the Decemvirs introduced female succession in land, which they certainly did not.

mitted women to inherit land, and they exacted a double composition for injuries done to them. By the Salic law among the Franks, women were expressly prohibited to inherit land; but we learn from the forms of Marculfus, that this proposition was in time eluded, by the following solemnity: The man who wanted to put his daughter upon a footing with his sons, carried her before the commissary, saying, "My dear child, an ancient and
 "impious custom bars a young women from suc-
 "ceeding to her father: but as all my children
 "equally are given me by God, I ought to love
 "them equally: therefore, my dear child, my
 "will is, that my effects shall divide equally
 "between you and your brethren." In polished states, women are not excluded from succeeding even to the crown. Russia and Britain afford examples of women capable to govern, in an absolute as well as in a limited monarchy †.

† The kingdom of Gurrah, in Hindostan, was governed by Queen Dargoutté, eminent for spirit and beauty. Small as that kingdom is, it contained about 70,000 towns and villages, the effect of long peace and prosperity. Being invaded by Asaph Can, not many years ago, the Queen, mounted on an Elephant, led her troops to battle. Her son, Rajah Bier Shaw, being wounded in the heat of action, was, by her orders, carried from the field. That accident having occasioned a general panic, the Queen was left with no more than 300 horsemen. Adhar, who conducted her elephant, exhorted her to retire, while it could be done with safety. The heroine rejected the advice. "It is
 "true," said she, "we are overcome in battle; but not,
 "in honour. Shall I, for a lingering ignominious life
 "lose a reputation that has been my chief study! Let
 "your gratitude repay now the obligations you owe
 "me: pull out your dagger, and save me from slavery,
 "by putting an end to my life."

What

What I have said regards those nations only, where polygamy is prohibited. I take it for granted, that women are not admitted to inherit land where polygamy is lawful : they are not in such estimation as to be intitled to a privilege so illustrious.

Among the Hurons in North-America, where the regal dignity is hereditary, and great regard paid to the royal family, the succession is continued through females, in order to preserve the blood untainted. When the chief dies, his son succeeds not, but his sister's son ; who certainly is of the royal blood, whoever be the father : and when the royal family is at an end, a chief is elected by the noblest matron of the tribe. The same rule of succession obtains among the Natches, a people bordering on the Mississippi ; it being an article in their creed, That their royal family are children of the sun. On the same belief was founded a law in Peru, appointing the heir of the crown to marry his sister ; which, equally with the law mentioned, preserved the blood of the sun in the royal family, and did not encroach so much upon the natural order of succession.

Female succession depends in some degree on the nature of the government. In Holland, all the children, male and female, succeed equally. The Hollanders live by commerce, which women are capable of as well as men. Land at the same time is so scanty in that country, as to render it impracticable to raise a family by engrossing a great estate in land ; and there is nothing but the ambition of raising a family that can move a man to prefer one of his children before the rest. The same law obtains in Hamburgh, for the same reasons. Extensive estates in land support great families in Britain, a circumstance unfavourable to younger children. But probably in London, and

in other great trading towns, mercantile men take care to prevent the law, by making a more equal distribution of their effects among their children.

After traversing a great part of the globe with painful industry, will not one be apt to conclude, that originally females were every where despised, as they are at present among the savages of America; that wives, like slaves, were procured by barter; that polygamy was universal; and that divorce depended on the whim of the husband? Such conclusion, however, would be rash; for upon a more accurate scrutiny, an extensive country is discovered, where polygamy never was in fashion, and where women were from the beginning courted and honoured as among the most polished nations. But the reader is humbly requested to suspend his curiosity, till he peruse the following sketch, concerning the progress of manners, which appears to be the proper place for that curious and interesting subject.

We proceed now to a capital article in the progress of the female sex; which is, to trace the different degrees of restraint imposed upon married women in different countries, and at different times, in the same country; and to assign the causes of these differences. Where luxury is unknown, and where people have no wants but what are suggested by uncorrupted nature, men and women live together with great freedom, and with great innocence. In Greece, anciently, even young women of rank ministered to men in bathing.

“ While these officious tend the rites divine,
 “ The last fair branch of the Nestorian line,
 “ Sweet Polycasté, took the pleasant toil
 “ To bathe the Prince, and pour the fragrant oil (y).

(y) *Odyssey*, book 3. See also book 8. line 491.

Men

Men and women among the Spartans bathed promiscuously, and wrestled together stark naked. Tacitus reports, that the Germans had not even separate beds, but lay promiscuously upon reeds or heath along the walls of the house. The same custom prevails, even at present, among the temperate Highlanders of Scotland; and is not quite worn out in New England. A married woman is under no confinement, because no man thinks of an act so irregular, as to attempt her chastity. In the Caribbee Islands, adultery was unknown, till European Christians made settlements there. At the same time, there scarce can be any fewel for jealousy, where men purchase their wives, put them away at pleasure, and even lend them to a friend. But when, by ripening sensibility, a man puts a value on the affections of his wife, and on her attachment to him, jealousy commences; jealousy of a rival in her affections. Jealousy accordingly is a symptom of an encreasing esteem for the female sex; and that passion is visibly creeping in among the natives of Virginia. It begins to have a real foundation, when inequality of rank and of riches takes place. Men of opulence study pleasure: married women become objects of a corrupted taste; and often fall a sacrifice, where morals are imperfect, and the climate favourable to animal love. Greece is a delicious country, the people handsome; and when the ancient Greeks made the greatest figure, they were extremely defective in morals. They became jealous of their honour and of rivals; which prompted them, according to the rough manners of those times, to exclude women from society with men. The women, accordingly, were never seen in public; and, if my memory serve me, an accidental interview of a man and a woman on the public street brings on the catastrophe in a Greek tragedy. In Hecuba,

ba, a tragedy of Euripides, the Queen excuses herself for declining to visit Polymestor, saying, "that it was indecent for a woman to look a man in the face." In the *Electra* of Sophocles, Antigone is permitted by her mother Jocasta to take a view of the Agrian army from a high tower: an old man who accompanies her, being alarmed at seeing some females pass that way, and afraid of censure, prays Antigone to retire; "for," says he, "women are prone to detraction; and to them the merest trifle is a fruitful subject of conversation*." Spain is a country that scarce yields to Greece in fineness of climate; and the morals of its people in the dark ages of Christianity, were not more pure than those of Greece. By a law of the Visigoths in Spain, a surgeon was prohibited to take blood from a free woman, except in presence of her husband or nearest relations. By the Salic law (z), he who squeezes the hand of a free woman, shall pay a fine of fifteen golden shillings. In the fourteenth century, it was a rule in France, That no married woman ought to admit a man to visit her in the absence of her husband. Female chastity must, at that time, have been extremely feeble, when so little trust was reposed in the fair sex.

To treat women in that manner, may possibly be necessary, where they are in request for no end but to gratify animal love. But where they are intended for the more elevated purposes, of being

* Women are not prone to detraction, unless when denied the comforts of society. The censure of Sophocles is probably just with respect to his countrywomen, because they were locked up. Old maids have the character, with us, of being prone to detraction; but that holds not, unless they retire from society.

(z) Tit. xxii.

friends

friends and companions, as well as affectionate mothers, a very different treatment is proper. Locks and spies will never answer; for these tend to debase their minds, to corrupt their morals, and to render them contemptible. By gradual openings in the more delicate senses, particularly in all the branches of the moral sense, Chastity, one of these branches, acquires a commanding influence over females; and, when they are treated with humanity, becomes their ruling principle. In that refined state, women are trusted with their own conduct, and may safely be trusted: they make delicious companions, and uncorruptible friends; and that such at present is generally their case in Britain, I am bold to affirm. Anne of Britany, wife to Charles VIII. and to Lewis XII. Kings of France, introduced the fashion of ladies appearing publicly at court. This fashion was introduced much later in England: even down to the Revolution, women of rank never appeared in the streets without a mask. In Scotland, the veil, or plaid, continued long in fashion, with which every woman of rank was covered, when she went abroad. That fashion has not been laid aside above forty years. In Italy, women were much longer confined than in France; and in Spain, the indulging them with some liberty, is but creeping into fashion at present. In Abyssinia, polygamy is prohibited; and married women of fashion have by custom obtained the privilege of visiting their friends, though not much with the good-will of many husbands. It were to be wished, that a veil could be drawn over the following part of their history. The growth of luxury and sensuality, undermining every moral principle, renders both sexes equally dissolute: wives, in that case, deserve to be again locked up: but the time of such severity is past. Then, indeed, it becomes indecent for the two sexes to

bathe promiscuously. The men in Rome, copying the Greeks, plunged together into the same bath, and became such proficient in assurance, that men and women did the same (a). Hadrian prohibited that indecent custom. Marcus Antoninus renewed the prohibition; and Alexander Severus, a second time: but to so little purpose, that even the primitive Christians made no difficulty to follow the custom: such appetite there is for being nudus cum nuda, when justified by fashion. This custom withstood even the thunder of general councils; and was not dropped till people became more decent, in appearance at least.

In days of innocence, when modesty is the ruling passion of the female sex, we find great frankness in external behaviour; for women who are above suspicion are little solicitous about appearances. At the same period, and for the same reason, we find great looseness in writing; witness, the Queen of Navarre's Tales. In the capital of France at present, chastity, far from being practised, is scarce admitted to be a female virtue. But people who take much freedom in private, are extremely circumspect in public: no indecent expression nor insinuation is admitted, even into their plays or other writings. In England, the women are less corrupted than in France; and, for that reason, are not so scrupulous with respect to decency in writing.

Hitherto of the female sex in temperate climes, where polygamy is prohibited. Very different is their condition in hot climes, which inflame animal love in both sexes equally. In the hot regions of Asia, where polygamy is indulged, and wives are purchased for gratifying the carnal appetite merely, it is vain to think of restraining them other-

(a) Plutarch, Life of Cato.

wife than by locks and bars, after having once tasted enjoyment. Where polygamy is indulged, the body is the only object of jealousy (not the mind), as there can be no mutual affection between a man and his instruments of sensual pleasure. And if women be so little virtuous, as not to be safely trusted with their own conduct, they ought to be locked up; for there is no just medium between absolute confinement and absolute freedom. The Chinese are so jealous of their wives, as even to lock them up from their relations; and so great is their diffidence of the female sex in general, that brothers and sisters are not permitted to converse together. When women are permitted to go abroad, they are shut up in a close sedan, into which no eye can penetrate. The intrigues carried on by the wives of the Chinese Emperor, and the jealousy that reigns among them, render them unhappy. But luckily, as women are little regarded where polygamy is indulged, their ambition and intrigues give less disturbance to the government, than in the courts of European princes. The ladies of Hindostan cover their heads with a gauze veil, even at home, which they lay not aside except in presence of their nearest relations. A Hindoo buys his wife; and the first time he is permitted to see her without a veil, is, after marriage, in his own house. In several hot countries, women are put under the guard of eunuchs, as an additional security; and black eunuchs are commonly preferred for their ugliness. But as a woman, deprived of the society of a man, is apt to be inflamed even with the appearance of a man, some jealous nations, refining upon that circumstance, employ old maids, termed duennas, for guarding their women. In the city of Moka, in Arabia Felix, women of fashion never appear on the street in day-light; but it is a proof of manners refined

refined above those in neighbouring countries, that they are permitted to visit one another in the evening. If they find men in their way, they draw aside to let them pass. A French surgeon being called by one of the King of Yeman's chief officers, to cure a rheumatism which had seized two of his wives, was permitted to handle the parts affected, but he could not get a sight of their faces.

I proceed to examine more minutely the manners of women, as resulting from the degree of restraint they are under in different countries. In the warm regions of Asia, where polygamy is indulged, the education of young women is extremely loose, being calculated for the sole end of animal pleasure. They are accomplished in such graces and allurements as tend to inflame the sensual appetite: they are taught vocal and instrumental music, with various dances that cannot stand the test of decency: but no culture is bestowed on the mind, no moral instruction, no improvement of the rational faculties; because such education, which qualifies them for being virtuous companions to men of sense, would inspire them with abhorrence at the being made prostitutes. In a word, so corrupted are they by vicious education, as to be unfit objects of any desire but what is merely sensual. The Asiatic ladies are not even trusted with the management of household affairs, which would afford opportunities for infidelity. In Persia, says Chardin, the ladies are not permitted, more than children, to chuse their own dress: no lady knows, in the morning, what gown she is to wear that day. The education of young women in Hindostan is less indecent. They are not taught music nor dancing, which are reckoned fit only for ladies of pleasure: they are taught all the graces of external behaviour; particularly, to converse with spirit

spirit and elegance: they are taught also to sew, to embroider, and to dress with taste. Writing is neglected; but they are taught to read, that they may have the consolation of studying the Alcoran; which they never open, nor would understand if they did. Notwithstanding such care in educating Hindostan ladies, their manners, by being shut up in a seraglio, become extremely loose: the most refined luxury of sense, joined with idleness, or with reading love-tales, still worse than idleness, cannot fail to vitiate the minds of persons deprived of liberty, and to prepare them for every sort of intemperance. The wives and concubines of grandees in Constantinople are permitted sometimes to walk abroad for air and exercise. A foreigner stumbling accidentally on a knot of them, about forty in number, attended with black eunuchs, was, in the twinkling of an eye, seized by a brisk girl, with the rest at her heels; she accosted him with loose, amorous expressions, attempting at the same time to expose his nakedness. Neither threats nor intreaties availed him against such vigorous assailants; nor could the vehemence of their curiosity be moderated, by representing the shame of a behaviour so grossly immodest. An old Janizary, standing at a little distance, was amazed: his Mahometan bashfulness would not suffer him to lay hands upon women; but, with a Stentorian voice, he roared to the black eunuchs, that they were guardians of prostitutes, not of modest women; and urging them to free the man from such harpies.—All in vain (b).

Very different are female manners in temperate climes, where polygamy is prohibited, and women

(b) Observations on the Religion, Laws, &c. of the Turks.

are

are treated as rational beings. These manners, however, depend, in some measure, upon the nature of the government. As many hands are at once employed in the different branches of republican government, and still a greater number by rotation, the males, who have little time to spare from public business, feel nothing of that languor and weariness, which, to the idle, make the most frivolous amusements welcome. Married women live retired at home, managing family-affairs, as their husbands do those of the state: whence it is, that simplicity of manners is more the tone of a republic, than of any other government. Such were the manners of the female sex, during the flourishing periods of the Greek and Roman commonwealths; and such are their manners in Switzerland and in Holland. In a monarchy, government employs but a few hands; and those who are not occupied with public business, give reins to gallantry, and to other desires that are easily gratified. Women of figure, on the other hand, corrupted by opulence and superficial education, are more ambitious to captivate the eye than the judgment; and are fonder of lovers than of friends. Where a man and a woman, thus disciplined, meet together, they soon grow particular: the man is idle, the woman frank; and both equally addicted to pleasure. Such commerce must, in its infancy, be disguised under the appearance of virtue and religion: the mistress is exalted into a deity, the lover sinks into a humble votary; and this artificial relation produces a bombast sort of love, with sentiments that soar high above nature. Duke John de Bourbonnois, ann. 1414, caused it to be proclaimed, that he intended an expedition to England with sixteen knights, in order to combat the like number of English knights, for glorifying the beautiful

beautiful angel he worshipped. René, styled King of Sicily and Jerusalem, observes, in writing upon tournaments, that they are highly useful in furnishing opportunities to young knights and esquires to display their prowess before their mistresses. He adds, "That every ceremony regarding tournaments is contrived to honour the ladies. It belongs to them to inspect the arms of the combatants, and to distribute the rewards. A knight or esquire who defames any of them, is beaten and bruised till the injured lady condescends to intercede for him." Remove once a female out of her proper sphere, and it is easy to convert her into a male. James IV. of Scotland, in all tournaments, professed himself knight to Anne, Queen of France. She summoned him to prove himself her true and valorous champion, by taking the field in her defence against Henry VIII. of England. And, according to the romantic gallantry of that age, the Queen's summons was thought to have been his chief motive in declaring war against Henry his brother-in-law. The famous Gaston de Foix, who commanded the French troops at the battle of Ravenna, rode from rank to rank, calling by name the officers, and even some private men, recommending to them their country and their honour; adding, "That he would see what they would perform for the love of their mistresses." During the civil wars in France, when love and gallantry were carried to a high pitch, Monsieur de Chatillon, ready to engage in a battle, tied to his arm a garter of Mademoiselle de Guerchi, his mistress.

But when unlawful commerce between the sexes turns common, and, consequently, familiar, the bombast style appears ridiculous, and the sensual appetite is gratified with very little ceremony. Nothing

thing of love remains but the name ; and, as animal enjoyment without love is a very low pleasure, it soon sinks into disgust, when confined to one object. What is not found in one, is fondly expected in another ; and the imagination, roving from object to object, finds no gratification but in variety. An attachment to a woman of virtue, or of talents, appears absurd : true love is laughed out of countenance ; and men degenerate into brutes. Women, on the other hand, regarding nothing but sensual enjoyment, become so careless of their infants, as even, without blushing, to employ mercenary nurses *. Such a course of life cannot fail to sink them

* Les femmes d'un certain état en France trouvent qu'elles perdent trop à faire des enfans, et à cause de cela même, la plupart vivent célibataires, dans le sein même du mariage. Mais si l'envie de se voir perpétuer dans une branche de descendans, les porte à se conformer aux vœux de l'hymen, la population, dans cette classe, n'en est pas plus avancée, parce que leur délicatesse rend inutile leur propagation ; car, parini les femmes du premier et second rang en France, combien y en a-t-il qui nourrissent leurs enfans ? Il seroit facile de les compter. Ce devoir indispensable de mere, à cessé chez nos d'en être un. (Les Interests de la France, vol. I. p. 234.) — [In English thus : “ The women
“ of a certain rank in France find that they lose
“ too much by child-bearing ; and, for that reason,
“ even though married, live in a state of celibacy. But
“ population is not advanced, even by those who, from
“ a desire of seeing themselves perpetuated in their de-
“ scendents, conform to the purpose of marriage ; for
“ their delicacy counterbalances their fertility. How
“ few of the first and second rank of women in France
“ suckle their children ? It would be easy to count
“ the number. This indispensable duty of a mother
“ has now ceased to be one with us.”] — As such
woeful

them into contempt: marriages are dissolved as soon as contracted; and the state is frustrated of that improvement in morals and manners, which is the never-failing product of virtuous love. A state, enriched by conquest or commerce, declines gradually into luxury and sensual pleasure: manners are corrupted, decency banished, and chastity becomes a mere name. What a scene of rank and dissolute pleasure is exhibited in the courts of Alexander's successors, and in those of the Roman emperors!

Gratitude to my female readers, if I shall be honoured with any, prompts me to conclude this sketch with a scene that may afford them instruction, and cannot fail of being agreeable; which is, the figure a woman is fitted for making in the matrimonial state, where polygamy is excluded. Matrimony, among savages, having no object but propagation and slavery, is a very humbling state for the female sex: but delicate organization, great sensibility, lively imagination, with sweetness of temper above all, qualify women for a more dignified society with men; which is, to be their bosom-friends and companions. In the common course of European education, young women are trained to make an agreeable figure, and to behave with decency and propriety: very little culture is bestowed on the head; and still less on the heart, if it be not the art of hiding passion. Education so slight and superficial is far from seconding the purpose of nature, that of making women fit companions for men of sense. Due culti-

woeful neglect of education is the fruit of voluptuousness, we may take it for granted, that the same obtains in every opulent and luxurious capital.

vation of the female mind would add greatly to the happiness of the males, and still more to that of the females. Time runs on; and, when youth and beauty vanish, a fine lady, who never entertained a thought into which an admirer did not enter, finds in herself a lamentable void, occasioning discontent and peevishness. But a woman who has merit, improved by virtuous and refined education, retains, in her decline, an influence over the men, more flattering than even that of beauty: she is the delight of her friends, as formerly of her admirers.

Admirable would be the effects of such refined education, contributing no less to public good than to private happiness. A man, who at present must degrade himself into a fop or a coxcomb, in order to please the women, would soon discover, that their favour is not to be gained, but by exerting every manly talent in public and in private life; and the two sexes, instead of corrupting each other, would be rivals in the race of virtue. Mutual esteem would be to each a school of urbanity; and mutual desire of pleasing would give smoothness to their behaviour, delicacy to their sentiments, and tenderness to their passions.

Married women, in particular, destined by nature to take the lead in educating their children, would no longer be the greatest obstruction to good education, by their ignorance, frivolity, and disorderly manner of living. Even upon the breast, infants are susceptible of impressions*; and the mother

* May not a habit of cheerfulness be produced in an infant, by being trained up among cheerful people? An agreeable temper is held to be a prime qualification in a nurse. Such is the connection between the mind and body,

mother hath opportunities without end of instilling into them good principles, before they are fit for a male tutor. Coriolanus, who made a capital figure in the Roman republic, never returned from war, without meriting marks of distinction. Others behaved valiantly, in order to acquire glory; he behaved valiantly, in order to give pleasure to his mother. The delight she took in hearing him praised, and her weeping for joy in his embraces, made him, in his own opinion, the happiest person in the universe. Epaminondas accounted it his greatest felicity, that his father and mother were still alive to behold his conduct, and enjoy his victory at Leuctra. In a Latin dialogue about the causes that corrupted the Roman eloquence, injudiciously ascribed to Tacitus, because obviously it is not his style, the method of education in Rome, while it flourished as a commonwealth, is described in a lively manner. I shall endeavour to give the sense in English, because it chiefly concerns the fair sex.

“ In that age, children were suckled, not in the
“ hut of a mercenary nurse, but by the chaste
“ mother who bore them. Their education, during
“ nonage, was in her hands; and it was her chief
“ care to instil into them every virtuous principle.
“ In her presence, a loose word or an improper

body, as that the features of the face are commonly moulded into an expression of the internal disposition; and is it not natural to think, that an infant in the womb may be affected by the temper of its mother? Its tender parts make it susceptible of the slightest impressions. When a woman is breeding, she ought to be doubly careful of her temper; and, in particular, to indulge no ideas but what are chearful, and no sentiments but what are kindly.

“ action

“ action were strictly prohibited. She superintended, not only their serious studies, but even their amusements; which were conducted with decency and moderation. In that manner the Gracchi, educated by Cornelia their mother, and Augustus, by Attia his mother, appeared in public with untainted minds: fond of glory, and prepared to make a figure in the world.”

In the expedition of the illustrious Bertrand du Guesclin against Peter the Cruel, King of Castile, the governor of a town, upon being summoned to give it up, made the following answer:

“ That they might be conquered, but would never tamely yield; that their fathers had taught them to prefer a glorious death before a dishonourable life; and that their mothers had not only educated them in these sentiments, but were ready to put in practice the lessons they had inculcated.”

Let the most profound politician say, what more efficacious incentive there can be to virtue and manhood, than the behaviour of the Spartan matrons, flocking to the temples, and thanking the gods, that their husbands and sons had died gloriously, fighting for their country. In the war between Lacedemon and Thebes, the Lacedemonians having behaved ill, the married men, as Plutarch reports, were so ashamed of themselves, that they durst not look their wives in the face. What a glorious prize is here exhibited to be contended for by the female sex!

By such refined education, love would take on a new form, that which nature inspires for making us happy, and for softening the distresses of chance: it would fill deliciously the whole soul with tender amity, and mutual confidence. The union of a worthy man with a frivolous woman can never, with all the advantages of fortune, be made comfortable:

fortable: how different the union of a virtuous pair, who have no aim but to make each other happy! Between such a pair emulation is reversed, by an ardent desire in each to be surpassed by the other.

Cultivation of the female mind is not of great importance in a republic, where men pass little of their time with women. Such cultivation where polygamy is indulged, would to them be a great misfortune, by opening their eyes to their miserable condition. But in an opulent monarchy where polygamy is prohibited, female education is of high importance, not singly with respect to private happiness, but with respect to the society in general.

APPENDIX.

A P P E N D I X.

Concerning Propagation of Animals, and Care of their Offspring.

THE natural history of animals with respect to pairing, and care of their offspring, is susceptible of more elucidation than could regularly be introduced into the sketch itself, where it makes but a single argument. Loth to neglect a subject that eminently displays the wisdom and benevolence of Providence, I gladly embrace the present opportunity, however slight, to add what further occurs upon it. Buffon, in many large volumes, bestows scarce a thought on that favourite subject; and the neglect of our countrymen Ray and Derham is still less excusable, considering that to display the conduct of Providence was their sole purpose in writing on natural history.

The instinct of pairing is bestowed on every species of animals to which it is necessary for rearing their young; and on no other species. All wild birds pair: but with a remarkable difference between such as place their nests on trees, and such as place them on the ground. The young of the former, being hatched blind, and without feathers, require the nursing care of both parents till they be able to fly. The male feeds his mate on the nest, and cheers her with a song. As soon as the young are hatched, singing yields to a more necessary occupation, that of providing food for a numerous issue, a task that requires both parents.

Eagles

Eagles and other birds of prey build on trees, or on other inaccessible spots. They not only pair, but continue in pairs all the year round; and the same pair procreate year after year. This at least is the case of eagles: the male and female hunt together, unless during incubation, during which time the female is fed by the male. A greater number than a single pair never are seen in company.

Gregarious birds pair, in order probably to prevent discord in a society confined to a narrow space: This is the case particularly of pigeons and rooks. The male and female sit on the eggs alternately, and divide the care of feeding their young.

Partridges, plovers, pheasants, peafowl, grouse, and other kinds that place their nests on the ground, have the instinct of pairing; but differ from such as build on trees in the following particular, that after the female is impregnated, she completes her task without needing any help from the male. Retiring from him, she chuses a safe spot for her nest, where she can find plenty of worms and grass-seed at hand. And her young, as soon as hatched, take foot, and seek food for themselves. The only remaining duty incumbent on the dam is, to lead them to proper places for food, and to call them together when danger impends. Some males, provoked at the desertion of their mates, break the eggs if they stumble on them. Eider ducks pair like other birds that place their nests on the ground; and the female finishes her nest with down plucked from her own breast. If the nest be destroy'd for the down, which is remarkably warm and elastic, she makes another nest as before. If she be robbed a second time, she makes a third nest; but the male furnishes the down. A lady of spirit observed, that the Eider duck may give a lesson to many a married woman, who is more disposed to pluck her husband than herself. The black game never pair: in spring
the

the cock on an eminence crows, and claps his wings ; and all the females within hearing instantly resort to him.

Pairing birds, excepting those of prey, flock together in February, in order to chuse their mates. They soon disperse ; and are not seen afterward but in pairs.

Pairing is unknown to quadrupeds that feed on grass. To such it would be useless ; as the female gives suck to her young while she herself is feeding. If M. Buffon deserves credit, the roe-deer are an exception. They pair, though they feed on grass, and have but one litter in a year.

Beasts of prey, such as lions, tigers, wolves, pair not. The female is left to shift for herself and for her young ; which is a laborious task, and often so unsuccessful as to shorten the life of many of them. Pairing is essential to birds of prey, because incubation leaves the female no sufficient time to hunt for food. Pairing is not necessary to beasts of prey, because their young can bear a long fast. Add another reason, that they would multiply so fast by pairing as to prove troublesome neighbours to the human race.

Among animals that pair not, males fight desperately about a female. Such a battle among horned cattle is finely described by Lucretius. Nor is it unusual for seven or eight lions to wage bloody war for a single female.

The same reason that makes pairing necessary for gregarious birds, obtains with respect to gregarious quadrupeds ; those especially who store up food for winter, and during that season live in common. Discord among such would be attended with worse consequences than even among lions and bulls, who are not confined to one place. The beavers, with respect to pairing, resemble birds that place their nests on the ground. As soon as the young are produced,

duced, the males abandon their stock of food to their mates, and live at large; but return frequently to visit them while they are suckling their young.

Hedge-hogs pair as well as several of the monkey-kind. We are not well acquainted with the natural history of these animals; but it would appear that the young require the nursing care of both parents.

Seals have a singular economy. Polygamy seems to be a law of nature among them, as a male associates with several females. The sea-turtle has no occasion to pair, as the female concludes her task by laying her eggs in the sand. The young are hatched by the sun; and immediately crawl to the sea.

In every other branch of animal economy concerning the continuance of the species, the hand of Providence is equally conspicuous. The young of pairing birds are produced in the spring, when the weather begins to be comfortable; and their early production makes them firm and vigorous before winter, to endure the hardships of that rigorous season. Such early production is in particular favourable to eagles, and other birds of prey; for in the spring they have plenty of food, by the return of birds of passage.

Though the time of gestation varies considerably in the different quadrupeds that feed on grass, yet the female is regularly delivered early in summer, when grass is in plenty. The mare admits the stallion in summer, carries eleven months, and is delivered the beginning of May. The cow differs little. A sheep and a goat take the male in November, carry five months, and produce when grass begins to spring. These animals love short

grass, upon which a mare or a cow would starve *. The rutting-season of the red deer is the end of September, and beginning of October: it continues for three weeks, during which time the male runs from female to female without intermission. The female brings forth in May, or beginning of June; and the female of the fallow deer brings forth at the same time. The she-als is in season beginning of summer; but she bears twelve months, which fixes her delivery to summer. Wolves and foxes copulate in December: the female carries five months, and brings forth in April, when animal food is as plentiful as at any other season; and the she-lion brings forth about the same time. Of this early birth there is one evident advantage, hinted above: the young have time to grow so firm as easily to bear the inclemencies of winter.

Were one to guess what probably would be the time of rutting, summer would be named, especially in a cold climate. And yet to quadrupeds who carry but four or five months, that economy would be pernicious, throwing the time of delivery to an improper season for warmth, as well as for food. Wisely is it ordered, that the delivery should constantly be at the best season for both.

Gregarious quadrupeds that store up food for winter, differ from all other quadrupeds with respect

* I have it upon good authority, that ewes pasturing in a hilly country pitch early on some snug spot, where they may drop their young with safety. And hence the risk of removing a flock to a new field immediately before delivery: many lambs perish by being dropped in improper places.

respect to the time of delivery. Beavers copulate the end of autumn, and bring forth in January, when their granary is full. The same economy probably obtains among all other quadrupeds of the same kind.

One rule takes place among all brute animals, without a single exception, That the female never is burdened with two litters at the same time. The time of gestation is so unerringly calculated by nature, that the young brood upon hand can provide for themselves before another brood comes on. Even a hare is not an exception, though many litters are produced in a year. The female carries thirty or thirty-one days; but she suckles her young only twenty days, after which they provide for themselves, and leave her free to a new litter.

The care of animals to preserve their young from harm is a beautiful instance of Providence. When a hind hears the hounds, she puts herself in the way of being hunted, and leads them away from her fawn. The lapwing is no less ingenious: if a person approach, she flies about, retiring always from her nest. A partridge is extremely artful: she hops away, hanging a wing as if broken: lingers till the person approach, and hops again. A hen, timid by nature, is bold as a lion in defence of her young: she darts upon every creature that threatens danger. The roe-buck defends its young with resolution and courage. So doth a ram; and so do many other quadrupeds.

It is observed by an ingenious writer (a), that nature sports in the colour of domestic animals, in

M 2

order

(a) Pennant.

order that men may the more readily distinguish their own. It is not easy to say, why colour is more varied in such animals, than in those which remain in the state of nature : I can only say, that the cause assigned is not satisfactory. One is seldom at a loss to distinguish one animal from another ; and Providence never interposes to vary the ordinary course of nature, for an end so little necessary as to make the distinction still more obvious. Such interposition would beside have a bad effect, by encouraging inattention and indolence.

The foregoing particulars are offered to the public as hints merely : may it not be hoped, that they will excite curiosity in those who relish natural history ? The field is rich, though little cultivated ; and I know no other branch of natural history that opens finer views into the conduct of Providence.



END of the FIRST VOLUME.

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